



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

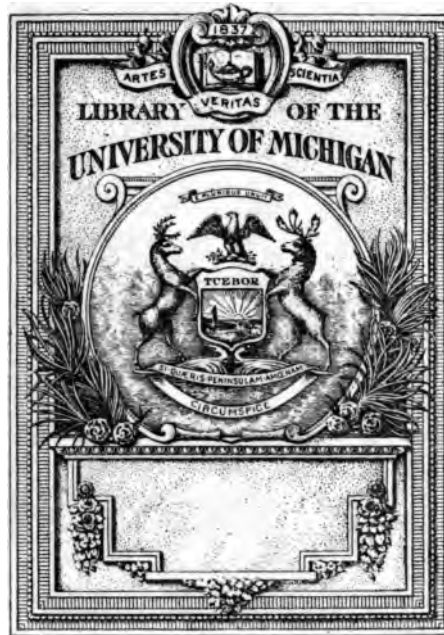
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

AMERICA AND THE ORIENT

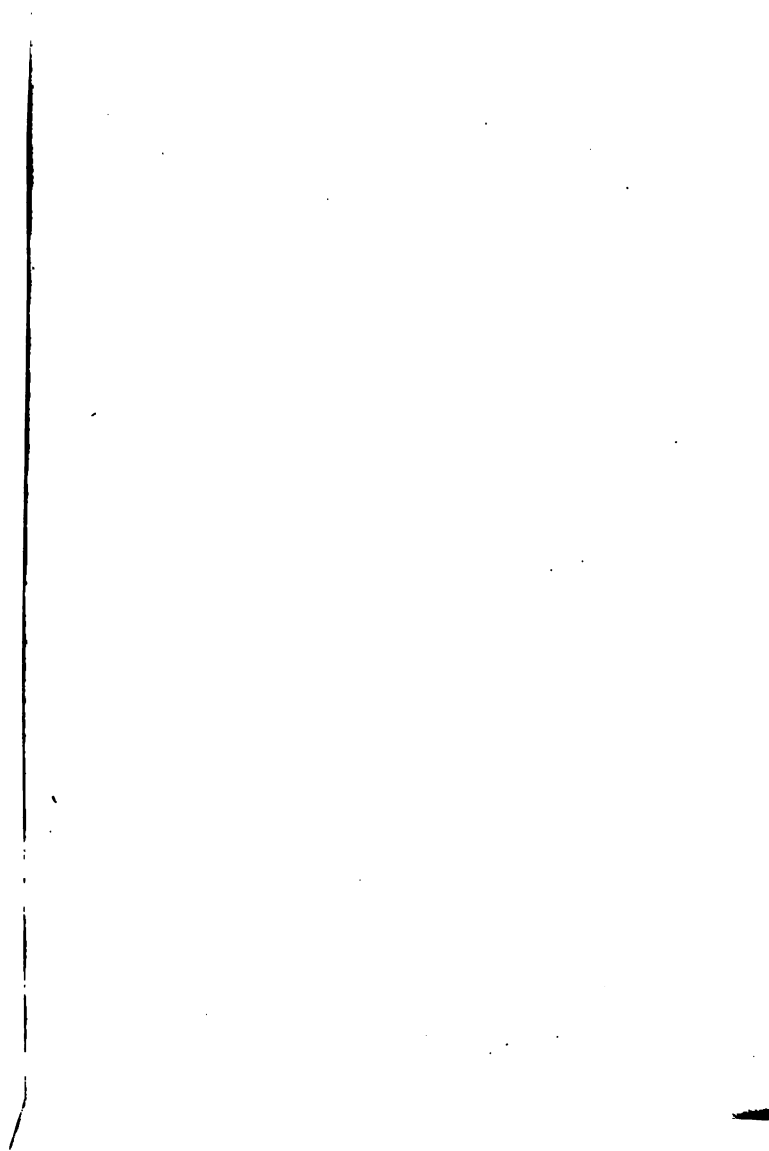


SIDNEY · L · GULICK



DS-
518
991





OTHER BOOKS BY THIS AUTHOR

The Growth of the Kingdom of God
Evolution of the Japanese: Social and Psychic
The American Japanese Problem
The Fight for Peace
Working Women of Japan

IN THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

Cosmic Evolution
Human Evolution
The History of German Theology
General Discussions in and the Classification of Human Knowledge

TRANSLATIONS INTO THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

Personalism, by B. P. Bowne
Christian Theology, by William Adams Brown

America and the Orient

OUTLINES OF A CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY



BY

SIDNEY L. GULICK

Secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Secretary of the American Branch of the World Alliance for
Promoting International Friendship through the Churches

Missionary in Japan under the American Board since 1887

Published jointly by
Missionary Education Movement
and
Laymen's Missionary Movement

NEW YORK
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
1916

Copyright, 1916, by
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

06 Feb 1912

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
EDITORIAL NOTE	vii
PREFACE	ix
I THE PROBLEM	I
II THE FIRST POLICY.....	13
III THE SECOND POLICY.....	29
IV THE THIRD POLICY.....	43
CONCLUSION	75

APPENDIXES

A STATISTICAL TABLES AND CHARTS.....	79
Tables Showing How the Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal Would Have Affected Immigration for the Period 1911-1915.....	82
Tables Showing How the Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal Would Have Affected Immigration from Japan, China, and Italy for each of the Five Years Indicated	84
Growth of Immigration	85
The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal.....	86
The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from all Peoples.....	87
The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from Europe.....	88
Comparison of Actual and Permissible Immigration..	89
The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from Italy.....	90
The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from Japan.....	91
The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from China.....	92
B BIBLIOGRAPHY	93

3095235

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Missionary Education Movement and the Laymen's Missionary Movement earnestly invite the serious attention of the constituency of the Christian Church to the moral issues and questions of Christian principles involved in the relationships of America and the Orient. These questions cannot be solved by diplomacy alone. They can be solved only by national application of the Golden Rule to our relations with these lands.

While these Movements are concerned solely with the Christian principles involved and can assume no responsibility for specific legislative proposals, we urge, nevertheless, upon Christian citizens, the careful study of the proposals for comprehensive immigration legislation that have been worked out by Dr. Gulick, and also of any similar proposals tending to the solution of these problems in a way thoroughly honorable to the peoples concerned.



PREFACE

A moral as well as a political crisis confronts the American people in regard to the problems raised by our international relations. What is to be America's moral response to the new world situation created by the European Tragedy and the Awakening of Asia? Is America to follow in the footsteps of the old world-order, which bases international relations on selfish interests and brute force, or is America to lead in establishing a new world-order, the order of Golden Rule Constructive Internationalism? The turning point in our national life is at hand. Careful study and prompt action are urged.

When the California-Japanese tension became acute in 1913, missionaries in Japan sent a memorial to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America requesting that it "appoint a commission to study the whole question in its relation to the teachings of Jesus" and "that it seek to rally the Christian forces of the United States for the solution of this problem and for the promotion of such measures as are in accord with the highest standards of Christian statesmanship."

The writer presented this memorial to the Federal Council which led to the formation by the Council of its Commission on Relations with Japan. As representative of this Commission, as Secretary of the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration and also as Secretary of the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship throughout the Churches, he has enjoyed wide opportunity for addresses on America's Asiatic problems and policies.

While the Federal Council and the American Council of the World Alliance obviously could not commit themselves to the details of his proposals, they are nevertheless profoundly concerned with the general ethical principles involved in our international relations and for this reason they have given him their moral support as well as an extraordinary opportunity for presenting the entire problem of the relations of America to the Orient.

The discussion presented in the following pages was given in brief outline in an address before the Conference on International Relations held at Cornell University in June, 1915. A fuller statement of the argument was prepared for the proceedings of the Conference with the title "America's Asiatic Problem." That chapter of the "Proceedings" was issued as a special edition of the January (1916) number of the "International Polity News."

The title adopted for this book more accurately describes the contents and the method of the discussion than does the former title, "America's Asiatic Problem." The material has been carefully revised and the argument enlarged and strengthened at various points. Having in mind the needs of classes, the arguments have been presented in broad outlines and with the briefest possible statement.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Fred B. Foulk for the bibliography, and to the World Peace Foundation for permission to make free use of the third chapter of the "Proceedings of the Cornell Conference."

SIDNEY L. GULICK.

New York City, May 1, 1916.

America and the Orient

I

THE PROBLEM

I. EUROPE'S TRAGEDY AND AMERICA'S AWAKENING

America has suddenly awakened to the character of the modern world situation and the frightful nature of modern warfare. Many believe that the United States is herself in danger of being attacked or drawn into the world conflict.

The vast majority of Americans honestly and earnestly desire peace. They wish peace for themselves, both now and in the future. Their desire is permanent peace for the whole world. They would fain tell Europe how to adjust her international and interracial political affairs so as to provide for permanent peace. They suggest, and even urge, the organization of the United States of Europe. They proclaim the importance of the prompt establishment of a World Supreme Court and a League of Nations to Enforce Peace, making the armies of the nations serve merely as a world police to restrain and discipline self-willed, turbulent, or aggressive nations.

A considerable section of our most prominent citizens hold danger of war to be so imminent that common prudence demands immediate enlargement of our military and naval forces. National security depends

chiefly, they insist, on military preparedness. Others are saying that permanent world peace is possible only by the establishment and maintenance of international justice, and the only hope of world justice lies in the establishment of a world court supported by international police. They accordingly devote their energies to the discussion of ways and means for securing these.

The writer, however, is amazed at the apparent apathy of all in regard to those matters with which we have immediate and unavoidable responsibility; namely, our relations with Asia. In the establishment of world peace we neglect the pressing duties immediately at hand while we concern ourselves energetically with matters relatively remote. We ignore our own wrong doings, which are producing the international irritation and tension which lead to war, while we call upon other nations and races to deal righteously with one another.

To be specific, our disregard of treaty pledges to China, our humiliating treatment of Chinese and Japanese, and our popular cultivation of anti-Asiatic suspicion, animosity and fear are producing a spirit and an attitude both in the Orient and in America that may ultimately result in conflict. The history of the rise and culmination of Europe's tragedy throws lurid light on America's attitude toward Asia and on our dealings with Asiatics. We are marching steadily forward in the path that Europe has trodden for the past fifty years, the result of which is the present conflict.

The causes of the European tragedy are now fairly clear. In brief, they are the selfish, national and racial ambitions, aggressions and oppressions, justified by the *materialistic theory of evolution* through the struggle for

existence and the survival of the strongest, the conviction that might and need make right, secret diplomacy, intrigue, falsified international news, cultivated suspicion, fear, animosity, and enormous expenditures for military preparedness.

Will America learn the lesson? Will we learn to deal righteously and justly with Asia and Asiatics? Will we place the giving of justice above the demanding of rights? Will we regard international and interracial righteousness and good-will as more important methods of providing for national security and permanent peace than the building of large navies and the purchase of mountains of ammunition? Will we discover that armed peace is in fact but a truce, and a truce that will inevitably be broken when the time is ripe? Will we learn that enormous and increasing armaments increase suspicion among all one's neighbors, compelling them to resort likewise to the same methods of providing for their national security?

Has not Europe's tragedy taught us that there is only one safe method for insuring national safety and permanent peace, namely, the method of ourselves dealing righteously, even generously, with our neighbors?

When we begin to seek not security at any price, nor peace at any price, but righteousness at any cost, then, and only then, shall we be fairly started on the road to permanent peace.

Americans who are earnest for the establishment of the peace of the world will see to it that we at once undertake to solve the problem of our relations with Asia in the only way that will really solve it. Those Americans who do not interest themselves in the recti-

fication of our laws and of our treatment of Asia and Asiatics must be judged as either ignorant of the seriousness of the problem, or not really earnest in the establishment of world peace.

World Militarism or Golden Rule Internationalism—these are the alternatives. Which of these paths America is to follow is the great problem now confronting her. The choice will be indicated by the way in which we decide to treat Asia and Asiatics. Shall we bring our laws into harmony with our principles, professions and pledges, or shall we increase our armaments and continue to disregard our moral obligations? Shall we base national safety primarily on the size, wealth and power of our nation and our preparedness for instant conflict, or on the cultivation of international good-will and confidence through the practise of justice, helpfulness and good-neighborliness?

These questions find their immediate and practical application in the relations of the United States to China and Japan, therefore they should be carefully studied by the rank and file of the responsible citizenship throughout our land. In their hands lies the fateful decision. Shall the United States promote World Militarism, or will it lead in the practise of Golden Rule Internationalism?

2. THE ASIATIC PROBLEM

Who coined the term "Yellow Peril"? What is meant by it? What is the objection to the term? Is there any better name for the problem indicated?

I. *A Definition.* Let the student try to define the term *before considering* the following suggestion. After

completing the course of study let him again return to the question of an adequate definition.

The Asiatic Problem signifies that group of questions and difficulties confronting the peoples of Europe and America due to the adoption by the nations of Asia of the material elements of occidental civilization, and their entry thereby into the life of the world.

II. *The Elements Distinguished.* The Asiatic Problem has many elements which need to be distinguished:

1. The Economic Factor. (a) Through enormous Asiatic migration into white men's lands and by work at a low scale of wages there will be a lowering of the scale of life for Caucasian workers. "White laborers cannot compete with Asiatics."

(b) Through development, with cheap labor, of enormous manufacturing plants in Asia, and the flooding of occidental markets with all kinds of manufactured goods "made in Asia" cheaper than we can possibly produce them in the west, our manufacturers and laboring classes will be hopelessly ruined.

2. The Military Factor. (a) Through the adoption by Japan and China of occidental science and especially of military and naval machinery and methods, Asiatics are becoming our equals in warfare.

(b) By their military power Asiatics will be increasingly able to dispute the supremacy of the white races and will compel them to surrender special privileges and rights acquired and long held in Asia by military superiority.

(c) Because of her enormous population, Asia when educated, armed and united, will be able to overwhelm the white people even in their own lands. Asia's enor-

mous fecundity and reckless disregard of life will enable her to raise such enormous armies and navies as to render successful competition impossible by the nations of the West.

3. The Racial Factor. Asiatic blood, brains and civilization are inherently inferior to those of the white races. They are moreover completely unassimilable. An Asiatic is always Asiatic in ideas, ideals, motives and character, and cannot possibly become Caucasian. The intermarriage of Caucasians and Asiatics is abhorrent; the offspring are mongrels, inheriting the bad qualities of both races, the good qualities of neither. All offspring, moreover, seeing they have Asiatic blood, are essentially Asiatic. The supremacy of Asiatics through low economic standards and bare military force will mean the incursion into the white man's land of millions of Asiatics. This will inevitably not only reduce the western scale of life but will also render inevitable wide intermarriage of Asiatics and Caucasians, insuring thus the final downfall of the white man with his civilization and the complete Asiatization of the world.

The above are the factors usually urged. They deserve careful study. Are they unadulterated truth or do they contain also elements of error? If the latter, how much is true and how much false?

4. The Moral Factor. (a) How have the advanced and powerful nations of the West been treating the nations and races of Asia? Have they been solicitous for righteousness and justice? In seeking their own advantage have they also sought the advantage of

Asiatics? Have Asiatics been justified in resenting and resisting the advance of occidental peoples? Has there been in Asia anything that may be rightly called the "White Peril"? Has the sovereignty of Asiatic nations been invaded? Has advantage been taken of their weakness or inexperience? Have treaties been faithfully observed? Have European and American traders and governments practised the "Golden Rule"? Have not Asiatics been ruthlessly exploited, economically, commercially, politically? And what is to be said of the sexual immorality of white men in Asia?

In what sense, if any, have the white nations a "right" to the natural resources of Asia? In view of the countless temptations into which white men have fallen in their dealings with Asiatics are we justified in speaking of a Moral Peril involved in our Asiatic relations?

(b) What treaty-provisions has America made with China and Japan? Has America faithfully kept those treaty pledges? Have Congress and the United States Supreme Court and the Presidents of the successive administrations been faithful to their respective duties in the matter of treaty observance?

(c) Is not the most ominous "Yellow Peril" to-day, and the only one actually existing, the sensation-loving public catered to by the sensational press? International falsehoods seem to be deliberately cultivated. Consider how the economic interests of many groups of Americans are advanced by widely promulgated and generally accepted war-scare stories, such as manufacturers of guns, ammunition, steel plate armor; caterers to Army and Navy; manufacturers and contractors for all kinds of material used in the army and navy.

Consider how war-scare stories have been periodically circulated when Congress is asked to vote army and navy appropriations. Consider how eagerly people read the sensational story and how difficult it is to get a full statement of the sober facts into the daily press.

Investigate the facts of the following war-scare stories:

Japanese plans for acquisition of Magdalena Bay.

Japanese secret treaty with Mexico and sale to Mexico of arms.

Japanese occupation of Turtle Bay.

Japanese old soldiers in California armed, organized and drilling.

Japanese purchase of lots in the vicinity of Dupont Powder Works.

Japanese spies in the United States, photographing, surveying, sounding harbors, etc.

Japanese plans for the acquisition of California, Alaska, etc.

Japanese designs on Hawaii and the Philippines.

Find the German Cartoon on the "Yellow Peril" and the Japanese reply cartoon. (See Reference Literature.)

A serious problem is evidently arising between the East and the West. Whether the above named widely circulated stories are true or false, they are popularly accepted, and that acceptance is causing a serious psychological situation with considerable international tension. Tension and mutual suspicion seem to be growing both in America and in Japan. China as yet is not much feared, but this is because she has not yet developed her armaments to the degree that Japan has, nor has the Chinese nation attained national self-consciousness to any great degree. These, however, will come as surely as sunrise

follows the dawn. Asia is awaking. Napoleon described Asia as a sleeping giant. "Let her sleep," he said; "for when Asia awakes she will shake the world." Does not that depend on the spirit that rules her? And does not that spirit depend on the kind of treatment she receives from the white man?

Stated in the briefest terms, the problem is *to adjust the relations of the great nations of the East and the West in such ways that their new contact shall be mutually advantageous rather than disastrous.*

Three distinct policies may be distinguished among the proposals that are now urged by which to meet the Asiatic "menace." The respective merits and defects of these policies should be widely studied and understood, for in the final solution of the whole problem, so far as America is concerned, the rank and file of the responsible citizenship is vitally involved. In their hands lies the decision. The consequences of this decision will affect in a vital way, for weal or for wo, the whole nation and every individual in it.

REFERENCE LITERATURE ON CHAPTER I

For a general survey of important reference literature see General Bibliography at the close of the book.

For a more adequate treatment of the subject matter touched upon in this chapter the reader is referred to the following books.

Gulick, *The Fight for Peace* (1915). Chapters I-V, IX and XVIII.

Lynch, *The Last War* (1915).

Jefferson, *Christianity and War* (1915).

Ainslie, *Christ or Napoleon. Which?* (1914).

In regard to the literature suggested for each chapter and in the bibliographies at the end of the book the student should

remember that not only are books and articles listed that support the contentions of the text but the strongest of those that present opposing views and contentions are also included.

For Emperor William's cartoon "The Yellow Peril," and the Japanese response cartoon "The German Peril," cf. "The Sunset Magazine," January, 1915.

To aid in definition of the Asiatic Problem see the statements made by various writers in "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," September, 1909.

Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem*. Chapters I-IV and XI-XV.

Gulick, *The Fight for Peace*. Chapters IX, X.

An adequate investigation of the Asiatic Problem should include careful study of the treaties. Pertinent extracts of these are given in the Appendix of *The American Japanese Problem*.

For the treatment experienced by Chinese in America and for a full statement of the treaty infringements of American Chinese exclusion legislation see *Chinese Immigration*.

For a list of recent magazine articles pro and anti Japanese, evoked by California's Anti-Alien Land Legislation, see Appendix of *The American Japanese Problem*, 314.

For a sober statement of the situation of Japanese in America and the problems created thereby, from the standpoint of a Japanese educated in America, see Kawakami, *Asia at the Door*.

For a scientific statement regarding Japanese agricultural and other workers in the United States see *The Japanese Problem in the United States*. This work is a report of an investigation undertaken by its author, Prof. H. A. Millis, at the request of the Commission on Relations with Japan of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The author is Professor of Economics in the University of Kansas.

For a study of the question of Race Assimilation, see *The American Japanese Problem*, Chapters VII-IX. A briefer statement of the same position is given in *The Fight for Peace*, chapter XI.

For facts on occidental aggressions in the Far East, see the *White Peril in the Far East*, also the *The American Japanese Problem*, chapter XIII.

As to the War-Scare Stories and their refutations there is urgent need of an adequate work giving a collection of both Japanese-American and American-Japanese stories. The absurdity of most of the Japanese spy stories is manifest on their face. Why take soundings of American harbors when they are accurately recorded in easily purchasable nautical books? And why take extensive landscape photographs when they may be easily bought? As for Japanese soldiers in America armed and drilling see *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 80 and 88. For the stories about Magdalena and Turtle Bay see the magazines of recent years. In regard to the war-scare statements that German or Japanese army authorities have carefully prepared plans for attacking this or that American port, the students should call to mind the fact that it is the business of military and naval officers of every land to draw up specific plans for repelling or attacking various imaginary foes.



II

THE FIRST POLICY

I. WHITE RACE WORLD SUPREMACY

The first and most vociferously advocated policy for meeting the Asiatic Problem, commonly called by this group the "Yellow Peril," is that which emphasizes the military, economic and racial factors of the problem. It sees no alternative but white race world supremacy, through superior military might exercised promptly, or final and complete overthrow of the white race and its civilization by a completely victorious and overwhelming Asiatic invasion. "World supremacy for the white man or his downfall" is the vision of those who advocate this first policy.

The avowed purpose of this group, therefore, is to maintain the race purity and the economic and military world supremacy of the white man. They would secure these ends:

1. Through complete exclusion of all Asiatic labor, from lands now in possession of white nations and thus prevent direct economic competition.
2. Through high protective tariff they would exclude all cheap manufactured articles that in any way compete with Caucasian-made articles. Thus they would prevent indirect economic competition.
3. Through military and naval force they would retain,

and even increase, the white man's hold on Asiatic territory. This would enable the white nations to suppress at the start dangerous Asiatic military and naval plans and movements.

4. Through possession by occidentals, so far as possible, of Asiatic natural resources, mineral wealth and railroad concessions they would provide for ownership by the white races of the wealth of the world.
5. By keeping from Asiatics, so far as possible, knowledge of the latest occidental military and naval inventions they would keep them in complete military inferiority, whatever might be their numbers.

6. Through legislation forbidding intermarriage of Caucasians with Asiatics they would maintain the purity of Caucasian blood and heredity.

In general, those who advocate the above policies regard the white man as intrinsically superior to every other race and therefore as endowed with special divine right to rule the world; it is quite right for him to seize its wealth and by force to keep all other races in the position of economic, military and political inferiority. The "manifest destiny" of the other races is to serve as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." They are to live and labor for the benefit of the white race. The white man is a privileged individual. The essential superiority of the white man is proven by the color of his skin, the vigor of the defense of his rights and honor, and the character of his civilization.

2. EFFECTS OF THE FIRST POLICY ON THE WHITE RACE

Before attempting to make a critical estimate of the *policy outlined above*, it will be well to consider the

effects of such a policy. What would be the effects on the white nations themselves were this to become the universally accepted policy and program of the West?

Is the following enumeration adequate and correct?

1. Race pride and race prejudice would surely increase by leaps and bounds. But does not pride precede, nay, inevitably cause, the fall of a race as that of an individual? Have we not historical examples of this principle? Babylon? Egypt? Rome? Greece?

2. Would not the utilization of other races for menial service, as inferiors, produce a psychological condition that would surely result in race deterioration and final ruin?

3. The policy of white race world-supremacy is racially selfish, materialistic, and frankly militaristic, and would inevitably lower the entire moral life of the Occident.

4. Such a policy, moreover, entirely ignores the rights of Asiatics and the imperative duty on the part of the white nations of giving them justice.

5. The fundamental principle of such a policy is that "might makes right." Would not the adoption of such a principle in dealing with other races lead directly and inevitably to its increasing application not only between white nations themselves but also between competing groups and classes in the same white nation? Would not injustice or denial of rights to Asiatics as a general and recognized policy in any country, endanger civil and political liberty and justice in that same country?¹

6. Is not this policy of white race world-supremacy

¹ If "might makes right," then as soon as Asiatics have the might will they not have also the right to overrun Europe and America and exterminate their excessive white population?

one that is really afraid to meet the Asiatic on terms of equal opportunity? Is it not therefore a policy of implied race inferiority?

7. The chasm between capital and labor in Christendom would be increased, with all its ominous consequences. In proportion to the success of the policy, the white nations would indeed become wealthy, but that wealth would not be equally distributed. The capitalistic classes of the West would possess the wealth of Asia while the working classes would, as before, be dependent upon their own toil.

8. The evils of absentee landlordism would be multiplied, with degenerative luxury and irresponsibility for the owning and ruling class of Christendom, and the crushing poverty and misery for the toiling millions of Asia.

9. For the successful carrying out of the above policy would there not be needed for America a large increase of military and naval armaments? For such a policy can be carried out only by overpowering military force. The complete subjugation of Asia means surely the complete militarization of the Occident.

10. The complete militarization of the Occident, however, would mean the complete disappearance of democracy. The dominance of one involves the destruction of the other.

11. If European and American capitalists gain military and financial control of Asia is it not clear that they will erect enormous manufacturing establishments in Asia, where labor and raw material are cheap? What will capital care about our own labor if it can earn larger *dividends by investments* in Asia? Will it not exploit

Asiatic labor in Asia to the ruin of economically less efficient Caucasian labor in Europe and America?

12. Would not such a policy, moreover, prevent the wholesome evolution even of the white races themselves, economically, politically and socially no less than morally and spiritually? Would not emphasis be continually laid on the lower aspects of civilization to the permanent loss of emphasis on the higher factors?

13. In its denial of the essential unity of mankind and our common human brotherhood does not the policy run counter to the great movements of human progress? Is there any more remarkable phenomenon of modern times than the amazing rapidity with which the whole world, regardless of its races and their history and differences, is becoming unified through universal trade, financial and postal systems, common education, universal science, the adoption of common political practises and ideals, and the development even of identical moral and religious aspirations? Is not the welfare of any section of the world intimately dependent upon the welfare of every other section? Do not national "slums" endanger every neighboring nation—for example, Cuba? Mexico? Does not this policy of white race world-supremacy threaten the true welfare even of the white nations by necessitating the degradation of the remaining races?

We conclude that, though the proposed policy might easily be carried out for a period of many decades, possibly for a century or two, its ultimate consequences even to the West are sure to be morally, economically and politically disastrous. Democracy could not be permanently maintained, for militarism and democracy are *incompatible*.

3. EFFECTS OF THE FIRST POLICY ON ASIATIC PEOPLES

The successful carrying out of the policy outlined would also have effects on the peoples of Asia which merit careful consideration. Is the following enumeration correct and adequate?

1. The complete and definite acceptance by America of Asiaphobia would surely evoke in Asia deep resentment, indignation and a policy of retaliation. Japan already feels humiliated by American treatment, and has publicly said so in her official diplomatic correspondence. The romantic friendship of Japan for America, and her absolute confidence in America's international justice and idealism, have already been seriously strained, and threaten to be completely lost, by even the slight application already practised of an anti-Asiatic policy.

2. Fifty years of contact with the West has taught Japan that she can secure her rights and even her political sovereignty, only as she is prepared to argue with the white man with bayonets and battle-ships.

3. Can we doubt that China will follow the same course of development as Japan has taken? China has definitely abandoned her ancient systems of education, government and communication, and is acquiring as rapidly as possible the practises and the instruments of occidental countries. This enormous change has been entered upon in consequence of European military aggression, and as a means whereby to oppose it ultimately and maintain independence.

4. Can we doubt the development in China, as in Japan, of deep moral indignation and resentment at the *arrogance of other races* in their assumption of inherent

superiority and right to own the earth and to exploit all races, keeping them in economic and political inferiority and subjection?

5. Would not the above described anti-Asiatic policy produce such a feeling of pride, of rivalry, of ambition and indignation as would ultimately render inevitable a world-war of the races in comparison with which, as many believe, the present tragedy in Europe would pale into insignificance? Certain it is that many already begin to foresee and to predict such a world catastrophe.

6. The economic effect on Asiatics of exploitation by European capitalists needs careful study. Suppose that European capitalists owned the mines, the railroads, the shipping lines and the factories of Asia. They would of course employ labor at the cheapest possible wages; laborers in China are practically unlimited. Capital would be able, through lobbies and vast bribery and intrigue, to control legislation in Asia to suit its own interests. Whence could come the moral force that would enact reform legislation, demanding a rising scale of wages, better hygienic conditions, shorter hours of work, and a one-day rest in seven for Asiatic laborers? Oriental labor employed by occidental capital, finding itself unable to secure better labor conditions, would easily resort to violence and destruction of property. Occidental capital, however, would at once resort to military invasion by which to crush labor agitation. In such a situation how could wholesome conditions for labor ever arise?

7. Such a capitalistic policy, moreover, successfully carried out for a century or two, would steadily drain off the wealth of Asia into the pockets of Europe and

America. The problems of labor and capital would be expanded to world-wide scope and in their worst forms. The degradation of Asia would be inevitable.

8. Such a policy, accordingly, though successfully carried out, would prevent the wholesome development of China, Japan and India, and make it impossible for that great section of the human race to attain its own best development and make its best contribution to the world-civilization.

9. In the final struggle for world-supremacy many are already predicting the victory of the Chinese because of their vast population, their fecundity, their patience, their economic efficiency and their dogged will. How will they treat the white race, if they win their supremacy by military might, in the face of the arrogance and injustice practised by the white races in their effort to keep the yellow and brown races in subjection?

Is it not clear that the general adoption by the white nations of a policy aiming at world-supremacy through superior military power would, even though relatively successful for a season, bring ultimate disaster to the entire world?

4. A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE ALLEGED "YELLOW PERIL"

Effort was made in Chapter I, Section 2, to state the Asiatic Problem in the form usually urged. The popular reaction to the so-called "Yellow Peril" was stated and its elements distinguished in Section 1, Chapter II. The two succeeding sections considered the consequences that would follow from the adoption of the proposed solution, which proposal we have named the First Policy.

We pass now to a critical study of the statement of the Asiatic Problem as sketched in Chapter I. Does the following critical estimate seem to be justified?

✕ 1. The migration in the course of a few years, into any single occidental land, of millions or even of several hundred thousand Asiatic laborers would unquestionably cause serious economic competition for Caucasian laborers. Asiatic unmarried laborers would underbid, outwork and outlive Caucasian laborers, especially those having families to support. Caucasian labor would doubtless be driven from any field to which Asiatic labor could enjoy free and unresisted admittance.

✕ 2. The alleged danger, however, to occidental manufacturing classes from the importation of articles manufactured by cheap Asiatic labor is not in reality such as is commonly asserted. For it is to be remembered that the West cannot purchase goods manufactured in Asia unless Asia purchases corresponding values from us. In proportion, however, as Asiatics purchase from us will they give us work. In proportion, moreover, as they sell to us will they be able to buy from us.

3. There is nevertheless a second form of industrial competition with cheap Asiatic labor that merits serious consideration. Suppose the plans of occidental capitalists succeed for the economic and political domination of Asia. Let us assume also that the mining resources, railroad concessions, manufacturing establishments and merchant marine of China are practically owned by occidental capital. It will of course employ cheap Chinese labor at the cheapest possible rates. Occidental capital will not interest itself in raising the wages and the scale of life of its employees; for the greater the

difference between the cost of occidental and oriental labor the greater the profits of capital on Asiatic manufactures purchased in the West. The purchase, moreover, by the West of articles manufactured in the East will not be from oriental but from occidental capitalists. The West will need therefore to send to Asia in payment only the amount needed for the actual wages and raw material of the cheap Asiatic labor. The profits will all remain in the hands of occidental capitalists. It is not indeed impossible that the profits from the sales in Asia of occidentally owned Asiatic factories, mines and railroads could completely pay for the raw material and the low wages of such labor as is employed in manufacturing articles for export to the West. In that case Asia could export to the West indefinite amounts of manufactured goods without needing to purchase anything whatever from the West. The transaction would be entirely between occidentals, the purchaser and the seller both being Westerners.

Under such circumstances, the disastrous effect on occidental factories and factory laborers would be frightful. In other words, the final economic effect on both Asiatics and Caucasians of occidental economic and political domination of Asia would be highly destructive of the true welfare of both East and West. It would prevent the real economic prosperity, social, mental, and moral development of Asia's millions and make it impossible for them to purchase much from the West. But the sale in the West of articles made in Asia, without a corresponding purchase from the West by the East, would reduce occidental labor to serious economic straits, possibly even more serious than

that of Asiatic labor itself. It would keep both Asiatic and occidental labor in complete economic bondage. This condition, East and West, would inevitably produce corresponding mental and moral degeneration, and the final complete collapse of democracy in every occidental land.

✱4. The alleged military "Yellow Peril" is highly problematical. That Asiatics will learn to use and may actually acquire all the inventions of the West is altogether probable. That the inventive genius, however, of occidentals has suddenly vanished is an absurd assumption. How soon is the Orient going to surpass the Occident in science, in applied chemistry, in engineering, or in inventive genius? That Asia will ever be able to attack either America or Europe with overwhelming force is not easily credible. Every added decade makes it less possible. The assertion and the wide-spread fear of an Asiatic invasion are indeed useful devices for promoting the prosperity of manufacturers of army and navy material. They are, however, not to be unqualifiedly credited.

✱5. That Asia is likely to develop armaments for the defense of her rights and the maintenance of her sovereignty against wanton and aggressive peoples seems altogether likely. Nay, it is proper, and on the whole, is it not desirable?

6. The statement that "Asiatic blood, brains and civilization are inherently inferior to those of the white races" is one that demands careful investigation. Is the statement based on scientific evidence, or is it the dogmatic expression of race pride and race prejudice?

7. The question of assimilability of individuals of the

one race and civilization to that of an alien race and civilization demands careful study. Distinction must be made between social assimilation and assimilation through intermarriage. The two processes, and the laws that control them, are wholly distinct. The social assimilation of aggregated groups that maintain their own language, customs, ideals, and ambitions, regarding themselves as colonists or outposts of their own race, is doubtless practically impossible. Quite easy, however, is the assimilation of individuals from any people who do not segregate themselves, who learn the language and desire to become an integral element of the nation of their adoption. This is particularly true of the children of such individuals. Social assimilation can become practically complete without intermarriage.

8. The problem of the intermarriage of whites with Asiatics is undoubtedly one of great importance. Such intermarriage should be strongly discouraged. This is however a matter for scientific determination, not for a priori dogmatism. Is not a commission needed, of experts in biology, sociology and psychology, for the study of this question of the intermarriage of Asiatics and Caucasians? After adequate and scientific investigation national legislation may seem desirable.

9. The ambition of many to make the white race dominant throughout the world, controlling the economic, educational, and political life and growth of every other race through the power of superior military equipment, ignores the fact that each great race has its own peculiar gifts and contributions to make to the welfare of the world, which gifts and contributions can only *be made through a process of free and happy develop-*

ment. Enforced subjection to an alien race produces a mental temper and an attitude that inevitably prevent normal growth and render impossible its best life. Rightly viewed the races are complementary one to the other; none alone is complete; none can rise even to its own highest and best apart from the contribution which the rest should make to it.

10. History shows that mankind as a whole, has been passing through a process of divergent evolution, caused by the isolation of the different sections, and hence has developed the diverse races and civilizations. Each race has faced the same great human experiences, birth and death, love and hate, sorrow and joy. Each race has created its own system of thought and action whereby to make life significant and worth-while. The era of divergent evolution has apparently passed. That of interchange of all good things has come—an era of convergent evolution. The richness of the new era has been made possible through the long ages of divergent evolution, when many vast experiments have been tried out and an infinite variety of divergencies has been accumulated.

Consider how much Europe and America to-day owe to Asia; the Semites gave us the Bible, with the Prophets and Jesus; the Arabs gave us their system of numerical notation; India and China gave many an invaluable contribution to civilization. Surely race arrogance is based on ignorance.

The selfish militaristic policy for the maintenance of the world-supremacy of the white race not only ignores all this but renders impossible its wholesome development. *An attitude of hostility between the East and the*

West based on mutual fear, suspicion, scorn and disdain would make it impossible for the white nations to impart their own spiritual best to the peoples of Asia, and would also make it impossible for us to acquire from them their spiritual best.

Already the work of Christian missionaries in Japan and China is seriously hampered by the anti-Asiatic agitation of the Pacific Coast States. The giving to Asia of the Christian religion will be increasingly difficult in proportion as the teachings of missionaries, regarding human brotherhood and love of neighbors, is belittled by the selfish action of the nations from which the missionaries go.

REFERENCE LITERATURE ON CHAPTER II.

I. WHITE RACE WORLD SUPREMACY

For the statements of those who fear the "Yellow Peril" and for their plans of resistance see *The American Japanese Problem*, Chapter XII. See also Homer Lea's *The Valor of Ignorance*, and Capt. Hobson's addresses.

2. EFFECTS OF THE FIRST POLICY ON THE WHITE RACE

The writer is not acquainted with any discussion of the subject matter of this section. Students who find pertinent literature will confer a favor by reporting it.

3. EFFECTS OF THE FIRST POLICY ON ASIATIC PEOPLES

On this subject also the writer knows of no careful discussion.

The fears, suspicions and animosities developed in the Asiatics through white aggression are indicated in the quotations given in chapter XIII of *The American Japanese Problem*.

A striking article expressing resentment and assurance of ultimate vengeance is given in the "Sunset Magazine" for *January, 1915*, entitled "*The Yellow Fist*," by Ackmed Abdullah.

4. A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE ALLEGED "YELLOW PERIL"

Literature dealing with the matters considered in this chapter has been called forth principally by the immigration of Japanese into California. For this reason the material to which the reader is referred deals predominantly with the situation in that state. It is to be regretted that many of the articles written on the Japanese problem as it exists in California are unbalanced. In general it may be assumed that sweeping generalizations are at least misleading.

It is to be noted also that many articles that take up the question of assimilability of Asiatics, or their intrinsic inferiority to whites, deal with dogmatic assertions. There is little effort to handle the matter in a scientific way.

In *The American Japanese Problem* the author has ranged over most of the problems touched on in this chapter. The question of assimilation is treated in chapters VII-IX, and of dangers of a Japanese military invasion of America in chapters XIV, XV.

The Problem of Race Equality, by Gustav Spiller, is a book that should be studied. (World Peace Foundation.)

III

THE SECOND POLICY

I. WORLD SEGREGATION OF THE WHITE AND YELLOW RACES

A second policy for dealing with the Asiatic Problem has recently been differentiated gradually from that described in Chapter II. It recognizes the injustice to Asiatics of the white man's wanton aggressions. It recognizes that Asiatics have full right to their own territory, natural resources, and a complete sovereignty therein. It admits that Asiatics are in many respects our equals, sometimes even our superiors, and that, therefore, the attitude of those white people who disdain the Asiatics as inferior, who would exclude them from our lands in ways that reflect on their character and attainments, is humiliating to them and reprehensible in us. Such an attitude, it is argued, shows ignorance both of them and of ourselves, and is an expression of senseless race pride and race prejudice. This second policy nevertheless holds that the admission of Asiatics into Caucasian territory is a distinct danger. The reason for that danger is not that Asiatics are inferior but only that they are profoundly different.

In general the proposal of this group is that Asiatics and Caucasians should mutually agree to keep out of each other's territory except the small number of merchants that may be needful for the transaction of business. *Even their residence should be temporary. Trav-*

elers and students should of course be freely admitted, but they should not be allowed to settle permanently in the alien land. The East and the West should be mutually friendly, should carry on commerce to the fullest and freest extent compatible with their respective welfares, each being judge of its own interests. The mutual exchange of all good things should be cultivated. But there should be no intermixture of populations, and absolutely no intermarriage. This policy would allow Asiatics full swing in Asia with opportunity for free self development there, even as white men demand free opportunity for development in their own lands.

But this second policy also dreads the development of Asiatic power. It recognizes the congested condition of Asiatic populations and cannot believe that they will consent to remain permanently confined to their own lands, when they come to know of the vast territories only partially occupied in other parts of the world. Hence it follows that the West must be prepared to resist Asiatic aggression, pending the day, not far distant, when the Asiatic will attempt to invade white men's lands, and demand opportunity for Asiatic migration to these lands less populous than their own and possessing more undeveloped resources. This policy accordingly advocates the rapid development of armaments for the resistance of such Asiatic demands. Unless we are prepared we shall be vanquished.

Such are the main outlines of this second policy. It needs, however, more exact statement. Its main assertions and principles may be enumerated as follows:

1. Japan is quite right in resenting occidental invasion *of the Orient*. *She* has done well in equipping herself

with the instruments of modern warfare and in checking the military aggressions of Russia.

2. Japan and China are great nations. They have had a noble history and are destined to play an important role in the future history of mankind.

3. Asiatics, however, are so different from Caucasians that their intermixture in the same territory is undesirable. This is not because they are inferior to us, but only because they are different. Their ways of thought, of life, of government, of morals and religion are so diverse from ours that they and we, like oil and water, can never mix. We might exist side by side and associate with each other in business, but we would never really understand them nor they us.

4. It is therefore important that we exclude them completely from our lands; thus alone will danger of friction and collision be avoided. All white men's lands should prevent the invasion of Asiatics, especially of Asiatic laborers.

5. It is also equally desirable that Asiatics should exclude Caucasians from their lands and prevent the intermarriage of the races. This would not in any way imply Caucasian inferiority. It would merely recognize the seriousness of the problem raised by the intermingling of races so different as those of Asia and Europe, and the importance of keeping them apart.

6. The wealth of Asia should be owned and exploited by Asiatics for the benefit of their own lands. Chinese and Japanese are fully justified in their efforts to restrain not only aggressive individuals from the West but also the aggressive invasion of occidental capital.

7. Japan and China, however, constitute a serious

danger to the West, especially to the United States. They are passing through a period of renaissance. They are rapidly acquiring the power conferred by the modern mastery of nature. As their power increases will their demands grow. When they realize how sparse is our population compared with theirs, and how vast are the undeveloped resources of the lands now possessed by the white man, they will insist on freedom for immigration hither.

8. Japan, ambitious and unscrupulous, will take advantage of our weakness. We must therefore be adequately prepared to resist her aggression.

9. Economic opportunities, moreover, for Asiatics in America should be so restricted that those now here would ere long find it to their advantage to return to their native lands.

10. Since, however, the above course would be misunderstood and resented, and since Japan intends as soon as possible to attack America, seize our territory and demand free acres for her surplus population, it is highly important that America should begin at once to prepare for this danger by increasing our fortifications in the Philippine Islands, in Hawaii, Guam, and on the Pacific Coast, and to increase largely our army and especially our navy. These military preparations would of course be solely for defense, not at all with a view to military aggression in Asia.

2. A CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE SECOND POLICY

Before proceeding to a criticism of the second policy it should be noted that it coincides in many respects with *the first policy*. The criticisms therefore directed against

that policy apply with equal force to those elements of the second policy which it holds in common with the first policy. And many of the criticisms presented in the following paragraphs apply with equal force to policy one.

What now is to be said concerning the second policy? Are the following criticisms pertinent?

1. Being a policy of suspicion, will it not evoke suspicion? Though it professes in words to respect the Asiatic, and wish him well, does it really do so? When he feels the pressure of our race discriminatory legislation will he not resent it, and grow increasingly indignant? Will not such a policy result practically in the same national animosity and international friction as the first policy of frank selfishness in asserting the supremacy of the Caucasian race?

2. Will not such a policy inevitably lead to the increasing of armaments in Japan and China as well as in America? When they see our enormous and growing armaments, and know of our distrust of their moral character, is it likely that they will believe our assurances that *our* armaments have no aggressive aim, that they exist only for defense? Will they not feel it necessary to strain every nerve to arm adequately—"not for aggression, but for defense"?

3. And when we in our turn see their increasing armaments, will we not feel more and more convinced of their aggressive purposes, and of the pressing need for still further increasing our military and naval preparations? And will not both sides of the Pacific enter thus upon the vicious circle of being "adequately prepared" *against the wanton aggression of treacherous foes?*

4. And what would be the consequences to America of such a course of "adequate" military and naval preparations? Would not war-preparation taxes grow by leaps and bounds? Expenses for "preparation" would soon exceed expenditures for all other governmental enterprises. "Safety is the first necessity." Must not a nation insure its existence before it may devote attention to other matters? There would of necessity develop a large body of trained fighters in our army and navy absolutely subject to order. The spirit and mental habits of militarism would be more and more widely cultivated. Congress would be increasingly beset with lobbies of great manufacturing interests seeking government patronage.

5. The absorption of national attention in the problems of security through military and naval preparation, and the consequent withdrawal of the nation's most forceful personalities from positive productive enterprises, would interfere on the one hand with the highest economic prosperity of the country and on the other with the solution of the pressing problems of capital and labor now upon us. The enactment furthermore of suitable legislation for the attainment of social and economic justice would be long delayed and possibly permanently defeated. Those who emphasize vast accumulations of armaments, ammunition and trained fighters usually fail to see that quite as important an element as economic wealth and prosperity in national security is a people well fed and well educated, possessing a social and political order that gives justice and economic prosperity to all classes and individuals.

6. *The effects on China and Japan* would be even more

disastrous. In spite of their relative poverty they would be forced to expend vast sums for military and naval development. Such expenditures would inevitably prevent the wholesome development of their educational, industrial, judicial and political life. Instead of developing democracy, absolutism would be still more firmly and inevitably rooted in those lands. The pressing problems of poverty, of social and industrial justice, and of capital and labor, would be necessarily neglected, to the enormous detriment of the masses. Their wide-spread economic poverty would prevent attainment of that scale of wages and life essential to the rise of extensive international commerce, which would have an important effect on the manufacturing and industrial classes of the West.¹

7. Advocates of the second policy, moreover, ignore two important facts. Man's recent mastery of nature and her forces has been so great that the ancient barriers of space which gave occasion for the development of the multitudinous races and peoples have practically vanished. The barriers between races and peoples to-day are in a true sense artificial, that is, man made. They consist of languages, customs and religions, prejudices, passions and animosities.

The human race, however, is essentially one, of one blood; sharing the same life, endowed with the same faculties of mind and heart and will, and undergoing the same fundamental experiences. The races, moreover, are facing each other in a new way. Their inner

¹ Let the student compare the foreign commerce of Japan, having a population of 50,000,000 with that of China, having 400,000,000. What would America's trade with China amount to if her people bought as much from us proportionately as does Japan?

life, no less than their outer, is rapidly coming into contact, and both are undergoing momentous changes. Mankind has definitely entered upon a new era, an era of interchange of the best things developed during the long centuries of isolated life, of mental, moral and spiritual approach no less than of the acquisition of a common external civilization and life. The artificial barriers are breaking down and passing away.

In spite of these facts, however, this second policy proposes to reestablish the geographical barriers by law and by military might. Does it not run counter to the real movement of history?

8. Those who advocate this second policy commonly insist on the unbridgeable chasm separating the Caucasian from the Asiatic mind. They are fond of the lines from Kipling:

"Oh East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet,
Till earth and sky stand presently
At God's great judgment seat."

They insist that an Oriental's mind and all its contents and operations are irrevocably fixed for him by his "blood"—his biological heredity. However long an Oriental may live in the West and however many generations of them may be born in the Occident, whoever carries oriental blood, they assert, is oriental in mind and heart and character.

In this brief discussion it is possible only to make clear the contention and to ask, "Is it justified by scientific knowledge or is it a piece of sheer dogmatism?" *The writer does not hesitate to pronounce it the latter.*

His own studies on this question have been embodied at some length in three chapters in his *American Japanese Problem*.

The contention of the policy here criticised is based upon superseded theories of biology, psychology and sociology. Whatever may be the unwisdom and undesirability of mingling the races in marriage, the complete psychological or educational assimilability of members of any of the virile races is incontestable. Of course the rapidity of the process depends much on favorable conditions. The time element is vital. The relative numbers of the two races involved is likewise a matter of great importance.

The primary assertion, however, of this second policy, that the Asiatic and Caucasian are intrinsically so different that they can never really understand each other and that this distinction is grounded in their respective biological heredity, is a fundamental error. They who quote Kipling at all should also quote the very next lines to those cited above:

"But there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth."

9. This problem, however, of the relations of America to Asia is one that involves more than merely economic or biological considerations. Moral and religious factors also demand our study.

This second policy, while not so pronouncedly brutal as the first, is nevertheless essentially selfish. It does not propose, it is true, to humiliate the Asiatic by loudly

denouncing him as inferior, yet it proclaims a final and dogmatic judgment against him. It emphasizes the harm of his presence to us. It insists that he is incapable of appreciating or entering into our social life and political institutions. It would provide by rigid laws and regulations that no Asiatic may have opportunity to show whether or not, as a matter of fact, these dogmatic judgments are correct. Thus this policy is solely concerned with our exclusive welfare. It takes no thought for the welfare of the Asiatic. It does not ask whether or not his life among us would bring him or his people profit and advantage.

There are, however, important reasons for holding that a certain amount of immigration and emigration between Asia and America, even of labor, is highly important. These grounds are partly economic and partly moral. Such intercourse, I hold, is essential to the best and most wholesome relation of East and West. Not only would it be of advantage to Asiatics, but also in the long run to us. The argument briefly stated is this: Asiatic labor needs to learn the best ideals of occidental labor in regard to its own rights and duties, to hygienic conditions, hours of work, periodic rest of one day in seven, and a scale of wages that provides for suitable living conditions, adequate nourishment, and proper support of family and education of children. The sooner and more effectively they learn these features and rights of labor the more rapidly will the scale of life of all Asiatics approach that of Occidentals. Such a condition, however, would not only be positively beneficial to Asiatics themselves but also to Occidentals, *for, on the one hand, it would diminish and finally do*

away with the destructive economic competition of eastern and western labor, and on the other hand it would give the laboring classes of Asia such a rising scale of life as would promote mightily both local and international trade and with it the prosperity of the world.

But how are Asiatic laboring classes to learn these ideals and develop the spirit that will insist on their realization? Such acquisitions will not be secured from books, nor from the suggestion and teachings of capitalistic classes. If Asiatic labor is to acquire these ideas, ideals and practises, it will be chiefly as it learns them by imitation and practise from the industrial classes of the West; and this will be most surely and most quickly accomplished if as much labor migration back and forth between the East and the West as possible is allowed without bringing harm to occidental labor. Refusal to give Asiatic labor this opportunity and privilege will both retard the wholesome development of Asia's industrial millions, and delay the development of the best labor conditions of the West. Labor interests throughout the world are closely interdependent. Labor degradation in any land hinders the right development of labor in every land. As far as possible labor in backward lands should be aided to attain better ideals, better organization, better wages, and more wholesome conditions by intimate relations with labor in more advanced countries.

Selfishness is not only morally detestable, it is economically disastrous. This is equally true of individuals, of social classes, and of races. The new era upon which mankind is now entering demands manifestations of

unselfish service on a vaster scale than has ever before been witnessed.

10. Finally, the second policy practically denies the fundamental thesis of the Christian religion, that God is the Father of all men and that all men are brothers. This point every Christian man and woman in America should be asked to face. Are the Japanese and the Chinese our brothers in the Christian sense, or are they not? If they are, then how can we say to them, "No matter how well you or your children may behave, nor how much you may learn, you shall never enter our land nor share our prosperity and our blessings. We love you, but we don't like you and we can't help you; be clothed and fed, but keep away from us and our children; keep out of our sight."

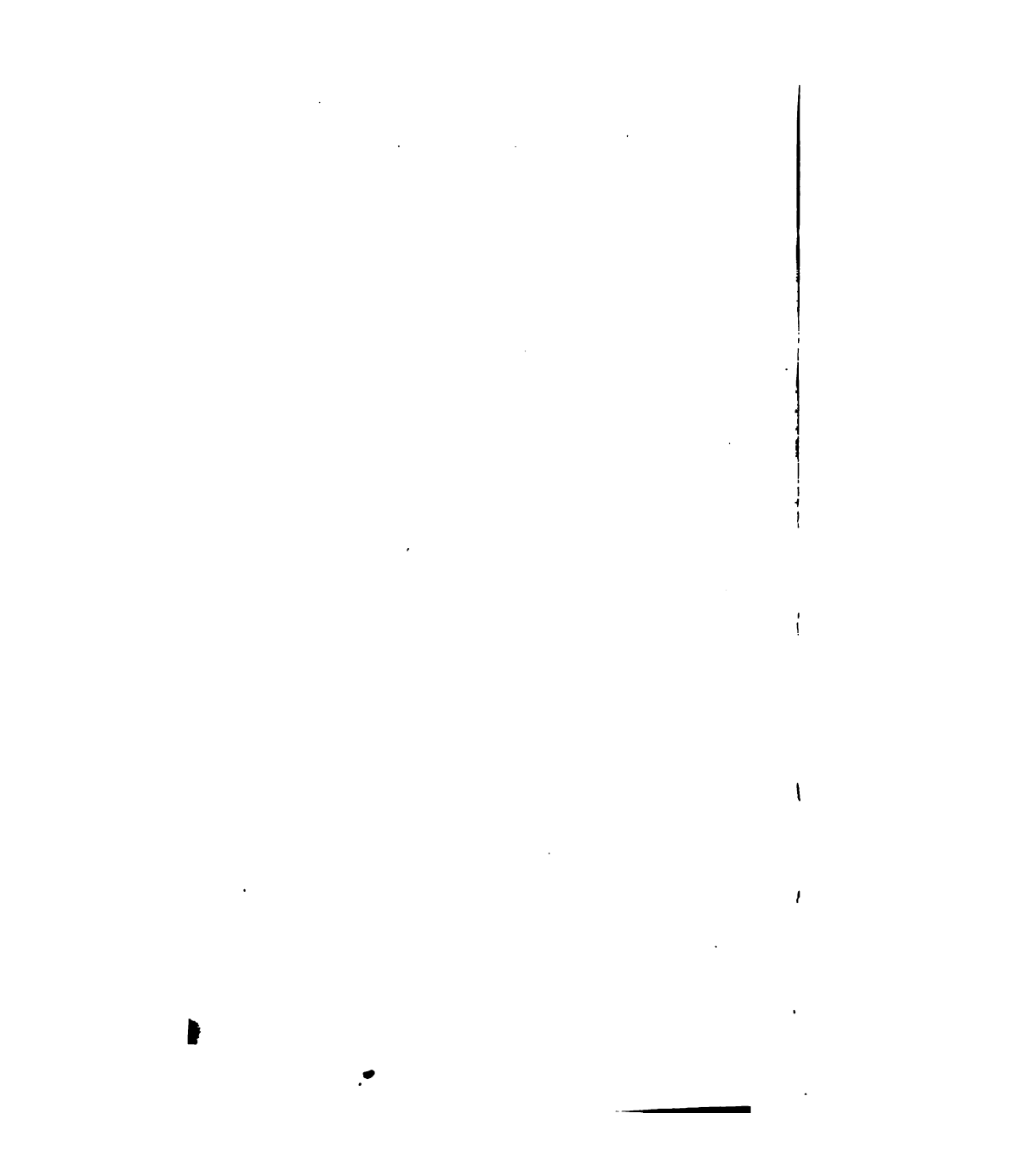
Is it conceivable that Orientals will believe our words (that we love them) to which every act gives the lie? Is it conceivable that the proclamation of the Christian faith in those lands of the Orient can make any special impression, when the national attitude of Christian America so completely disregards the most fundamental postulate and assertion of that faith? And if we regard our most precious possessions to be matters of the spirit and of character, truth and righteousness, uprightness and justice, mercy and love, how can we hope to impart these treasures to those great peoples and races of the Orient if our fundamental attitude toward them is one characterized by national hypocrisy and selfishness?

If the above paragraphs have accurately diagnosed the policy of mutual race exclusion are we not justified in the judgment that this policy also is fundamentally *wrong*? Although it does not, like the first policy, pro-

pose to inflict wrong on the peoples of the Orient by direct military or economic invasion, does it not in reality do them great injustice in that it practically forces upon them the disastrous policy of military and naval development after the fashion of the West and deprives them in important ways of the help and uplift that we might perhaps give them?

If it were possible to carry out the principle of complete race segregation without the development of mutual suspicion, fear and ill-will, and the consequent resort to military preparation to insure safety, and without the virtual denial of the brotherhood of man, the policy might not be so disastrous. Such however does not seem to be possible. Race segregation decreed by legislation engenders ill-will, misunderstandings, resentment, indignation, suspicion, fear and ever-increasing armaments.

Whether or not a final conflict arises between America and the Orient, the disastrous consequences of the policy under consideration seem clear.



IV

THE THIRD POLICY

I. THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

The third policy for dealing with the Asiatic problem declines even to characterize it as the "Yellow Peril," for this term introduces a subtle fallacy and antipathy at the very outset. It holds that the great races of mankind are no chance product of nature; that in the providence of Him who creates and rules all things some better goal is to be reached by all through their very diversities and the problems raised thereby, than would otherwise have been possible.

This policy holds that the precedence of certain races in intelligence, political, economic and social life and in moral and religious insight and attainments places upon them corresponding moral obligations for right and helpful treatment of nations and races less privileged, and that the further progress of the more advanced races themselves depends closely upon their observance of those obligations. Providence endows races in order that they may render service to the whole world. The giving of that service is essential to their own permanent welfare and wholesome development. Great national wealth, whether spiritual, intellectual or material, must be administered as a trust for the benefit of the world, else it will ruin its possessors.

This third policy holds, moreover, that the real solution of man's problems, those of the individual, of classes and of races, is ethical. The world is an indivisible unit, between whose various continents, nations and races no hard and fast impassable barriers can be permanently raised.

Selfish racial ambition, it holds, produces international difficulties. True and wholesome conditions can be established in the relations of nations and races, as in those of individuals, only on the principles of the world's great Teacher.

In this world in which selfishness, wrong and injustice between nations and races have already had so much sway, producing enmity, fear, suspicion, indignation and ill-will, the only possible method of recovery is the practise by nations as well as by individuals of the moral principles taught by Jesus; those namely of service and of sacrifice. We can overcome the enmity and suspicion of those whom we have already injured, by loving them and doing them good. This will not only overcome their ill-will toward us but evoke their gratitude and confidence. This method in the treatment of Asiatics by Caucasians, and this alone, will completely solve the so-called "Yellow Peril" because it will completely and manifestly banish the "White Peril."

No country, moreover, is so happily circumstanced to inaugurate this policy of unselfish internationalism as America. Here as in no other land every citizen may help determine international policy. Accordingly every citizen has responsibility in this matter. He should familiarize himself with international problems and *decide on the right international policies.*

The proposals, however, of those who emphasize the moral element in the problem of the relations of the Occident and the Orient may be most clearly set forth in a series of statements regarding, first, the fundamental principles, secondly their concrete embodiment in legislation and administration.

Fundamental Principles

1. The real test and proof of racial superiority lies not in the realm of military power but in that of moral and spiritual life.
2. The truly great race, as the truly great man, seeks to give justice rather than to get rights. This policy advocates not peace at any price but righteousness at any cost.
3. The dominance of Asia by the West, whether military, political or economic, is not the true goal for occidental effort. The proposal moreover that the East and the West shall lead their lives in as complete mutual isolation as possible, each living as far as possible for itself, is also fundamentally wrong. Asia's need is America's opportunity for invaluable service. To see the need and pass by unheeding and unresponsive is not only cruel to Asia but morally disastrous to America.
4. The nations of the West should seek to give to the Orient their own best attainments in science, in political organization, in social order, in jurisprudence, in economic and industrial organization and activity, and above all, in moral and spiritual life. The uplift of the life of Asia as a whole is of the highest importance, not only for Asia herself, but also for the real welfare of the Occident.

5. The establishment of social justice between nations is as important as is its establishment between the various classes of a single nation.

6. The dominance of one race over others through the use of brute force is harmful to the victors no less than to the victims.

7. Race predominance through force or fraud among peoples is as obnoxious, reprehensible and really disastrous as is the domination of one class over other classes within a single nation. Oligarchy, Plutocracy, Aristocracy and Mob-ocracy have been repeatedly tested and found wanting. So also has Race-ocracy!

8. The treatment to be accorded to individual Chinese and Japanese in America should be free from personal injustice or race humiliation. The individual Chinese and Japanese should be judged and dealt with on the basis of individual character, not on the basis of an hypothetical race character.

9. Right relations with China and Japan to-day demand of us a more careful regard for our treaty pledges and obligations than we have been wont to give.

10. The guiding principle in American Oriental policies should be helpful service. Our diplomacy should place as its foremost aim, not the commercial or political advantages of America regardless of the real interests of the peoples of the Orient, but rather mutual profit and advantage. No advantage should be sought for ourselves that brings loss to them.

The Concrete Program

The constructive policy now needed in establishing *right relations with the Orient* falls into two principal

parts: first, that dealing with Asiatics who come to our shores, second, that dealing with the nations themselves across the Pacific. The first requires of us social and legislative adjustment, both local and national. The second depends on high-minded diplomacy, on honest commerce, on generous philanthropy, and on wise and broad-minded missionary activity. The detailed discussion of these two aspects of our required New Internationalism is presented in the following sections.

The brevity of this discussion should not be understood to indicate a feeling on the part of the writer that the needed social adjustments in America, or diplomatic, commercial, philanthropic or missionary activity in the Orient are of slight importance or easily secured. His conviction is just the contrary. American diplomacy and enterprises of many kinds in the Far East have conferred many blessings upon those lands. The field, however, is too vast for adequate treatment in anything less than a large volume. In the opinion of the writer the so-called "White Peril" in the Orient, so far as America is concerned, has been negligible, while American diplomacy, trade, philanthropy, education and Christian activity have conferred upon both Japan and China advantages that may not easily be estimated. The awakening life of Japan and China is due in no small part to the contributions made by Americans to the higher life of these peoples. Not a little of the best that the West possesses has already been successfully imparted to important sections of the East.

Nevertheless much more remains to be done. Just at present it seems as though the cultivation of friendship between America and Asia depends in no

degree upon right legislative adjustment in America and right diplomatic relations and actions across the Pacific.

2. THE NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY

In examining the problem of Chinese and Japanese immigration to America one is impressed with the similarity of the difficulties experienced and the objections raised on the Pacific Coast with those that have been experienced and raised on the Atlantic Coast in connection with immigrants from Europe.

Moreover the recent immigration of such vast numbers from south and east Europe has made it clear to most students of the question that the time has come for the limitation and regulation of European immigration.

One of the greatest problems before the American people is that of the just and efficient treatment of the incoming tide of alien peoples, European not less than Asiatic. Our immigration laws are unsystematic, inadequate and discriminatory; our provisions for the proper treatment, distribution and education of aliens already admitted are seriously defective or entirely wanting. We find ourselves increasingly embarrassed both internally and internationally. Has not the time come for comprehensive legislation dealing with the entire immigration question? We need laws dealing comprehensively with all races on a basis of absolute equality. This, and this alone, will free them from invidious and humiliating features. *Chinese and Japanese are not asking for free immigration to America but only for freedom from individual and racial humiliation.* This statement cannot be *made too often nor too emphatically.*

On the other hand, the admission of individuals from any nation and race should be limited in such ways as to protect the laboring classes in America from economic disaster. American laborers have rights no less than those in Asia and Europe. *The number of immigrants who may be allowed to come from any land should depend on their ability to enter our economic life without harm to the laborers and the people now here.*

The number, moreover, to be admitted annually from any particular country or race should depend in some close way on their proven adaptability to our life. We cannot afford to admit large numbers from any land who do not propose to settle down, and become fully identified with our institutions and methods of life. We cannot allow groups to be formed in our midst who regard themselves as colonists, representatives of their homeland, in our midst but not of us; not learning our language nor adopting our ideals.

We can admit to permanent residence here only those who desire to acquire citizenship and help us to make genuinely successful our great experiment in democracy.

The question as to whether or not any particular people or race is assimilable should be based upon experience. Each group should be considered separately and the numbers to be admitted annually from any particular people should depend upon the number of those from that people who have already become so familiar with our language, customs and institutions, and so loyal to them as to have surrendered allegiance to their native land and become regular American citizens. This method of limiting immigration throws upon those already admitted the responsibility of proving to Ame

whether or not others, and of deciding how many, from their land may be given the same privilege.

An essential part of the plan is of course that the administration of the laws proposed in the following pages shall be put in the hands of those who approve the general principles and the policy, and who seek to administer the laws in the spirit of fairness and good-will. The principles of civil service should from the start be applied to the selection and retention of efficient administrative officials.

In a word, we now need a comprehensive immigration policy meeting the problems raised by both Asiatic and European immigration. It should recognize the just demands of the Pacific Coast states for protection from swamping Asiatic immigration. It should be free from race discrimination and give equal courtesy of treatment to all. It should protect the democratic life and institutions of America; it should give opportunity to all in proportion to their capacity to utilize it to their own as well as to our advantage. The needed legislative policy and program should deal with the entire immigration question in such a way as to conserve American institutions, protect American labor from dangerous economic competition from every land, and promote intelligent and enduring friendliness and good-will between America and all the nations, east and west.

The writer has sought to embody the above general principles in suggestions for concrete legislation. He has stated these suggestions in various articles and pamphlets. The following presentation is probably the most complete.

I. The Control of Immigration. Immigration from

every land should be controlled, and, if excessive, it should be restricted. The principle of restriction should be applied equally to every land, and thus avoid differential race treatment.

2. *Americanization the Principle of Control.* The proven capacity for genuine Americanization on the part of those already here from any land should be the measure for the further immigration of that people. Newcomers make their first contact with America through those who speak their own language. The Americanization, therefore, of newcomers from any land depends largely on the influence of those already here from that land. The number of newcomers annually admissible from any land, therefore, should be closely dependent on the number of those from that land who, having been here five years or more, have actually become American citizens. These know the language, customs and ideals of both peoples, ours and theirs.

America should admit as immigrants only so many aliens from any land as she can Americanize.

3. *The Proposed Restriction Law.* Let, therefore, an immigration law be passed which provides that the maximum permissible annual immigration from any people shall be a definite per centage (say five) of those from that people who have already become naturalized citizens, together with their American-born children. The grandchildren as a rule do not know their ancestral language, and therefore do not aid particularly in the Americanization of newcomers.

The permissible annual immigration from the respective peoples, as calculated from the census of 1910, is given in the tables of the Appendix. They show that

in general there would be no restriction on immigration from North Europe. The reverse, however, would be the case for the countries of South Europe. The permissible immigration from China and Japan would be less than that which has been coming in recent years. (See the charts and tables III and IV of the Appendix.)

Provision should be also made for the protection of all newcomers from ruthless exploitation and for their distribution, employment and rapid Americanization. To aid in the accomplishment of these ends, the Federal Government should establish—

4. *A Bureau of Registration.* All aliens should register annually until they become American citizens, and should pay an annual registration fee of, say ten dollars. We need to know who the aliens are, where they live, and they need to know that we know these facts about them. A system of registration could be worked out in connection with a National Employment Bureau, as suggested by the late Prof. C. R. Henderson, that would not involve police surveillance. This Bureau should be regarded as a method for friendly aid, not of hostile and suspicious control.

5. *A Bureau for the Education of Aliens.* This Bureau should set standards, prepare text-books, promote the establishment of night schools by states, cities and towns—which might receive federal subsidies—and hold examinations. The education and the examinations should be free. Provision should be made for the reduction of the registration fee by, say one dollar for every examination passed. The education should be simple and practical, avoiding merely academic proficiency. Let there be six examinations, three in Eng-

lish and one each in the History of the American People, in the Methods of our Government, local, state and federal, and in the Ideals of Democracy. When all the examinations have been passed there would still remain the annual registration fee of four dollars so long as the individual chooses to remain an alien.

6. *New Regulations for the Bureau of Naturalization.* Citizenship should be granted only to those who have passed the required examinations provided by the Bureau of Alien Education and have maintained good behavior during the five years of probationary residence. The naturalization ceremony might well take the form of a dignified welcome service, say, on a single day in the year—the Fourth of July—with appropriate welcome orations, banners, badges and banquets.

7. *Citizenship for all Who Qualify, Regardless of Race.* Eligibility to naturalization should be based upon personal qualifications of intelligence, knowledge and character. The mere fact of race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification.

Such are the main outlines of the proposed Comprehensive and Constructive Program here offered for the solution of the entire immigration problem, Asiatic as well as European.

8. *A Few Additional Details.* (a) No change should be made in the schedule for maximum immigration between the census periods. With each new census a new schedule should be prepared, but it should not go into operation automatically. Congress should reconsider the whole matter once in ten years upon receiving the figures based upon the new census, and decide either to adopt the new schedule, or some new percentage rate. Pos-

sibly it might be better to continue the same schedule for another decade.

(b) Provision should be made for certain excepted classes. Government officials, travelers and students would, of course, be admitted outside of the fixed schedule figures. Aliens who have already resided in America and taken out their first papers, or who have passed all the required examinations, should also doubtless be admitted freely, regardless of the schedule. Women and children under fourteen years of age should also be included among the excepted classes. By providing for such exceptions the drastic features of the proposed plan would be largely, perhaps wholly, relieved.

(c) Should the restriction required by the five per cent. plan be regarded as excessively severe the percentage rate could be advanced. In any case it seems desirable that the five per cent. restriction should be applied only to males fourteen years of age and over.

(d) In order to provide for countries from which few have become American citizens a minimum permissible annual immigration of, say 1,000 might be allowed, regardless of the percentage rate.

(e) Registration, with payment of the fee, might well be required only of male aliens twenty-one years of age and over. Since, however, it is highly desirable that immigrant women also should learn the English language, provision might be made that all alien women should register without payment of the fee and be given the privileges of education and of taking the examinations free of cost. This privilege might extend over a period of five years. After passing the examinations there should be no further requirement for registration.

If, however, after five years the examinations have not been passed, then they should be required to pay a registration tax of six dollars annually, a reduction of one dollar being allowed for every examination passed.

(f) In order to meet special cases and exigencies, such as religious or political persecutions, war, famine or flood, provision might well be made to give special power to the Commissioner of Immigration, in consultation with the Commissioner of Labor and one or two other specified high officials, to order exceptional treatment.

(g) The proposed policy, if enacted into law, would put into the hands of Congress a flexible instrument for the continuous and exact regulation of immigration, adapting it from time to time to the economic conditions of the country.

(h) How the war is to influence future immigration is uncertain; some anticipate an enormous increase, while others expect a decrease. Is it not important for Congress to take complete and exact control of the situation while the present lull is on, and be able to determine what the maximum immigration shall be before we find ourselves overwhelmed with its magnitude? If the post bellum immigration should prove to be small a law limiting it to figures proposed by this plan would do no harm. If it should prove to be enormous we would be prepared to deal with it.

(i) An objection to the proposed plan is raised by some. It is urged that tens of thousands would suffer the hardship of deportation because of arrival after the maximum limit has been reached. Such a situation, however, could easily be avoided by a little care in the *matter of administration*. Provision could be made, f

instance, that each of the transportation lines bringing immigrants from any particular land should agree with the immigration office upon the ~~maximum~~ number of immigrants that it may bring to America during the year, the sum total of these agreements being equal to the maximum permissible immigration from that particular land. There would then be no danger of deportation because of excessive immigration. The steamship lines, moreover, would see to it that their immigration accommodation would be continuously occupied throughout the year, avoiding thus a rush during the first two or three months of the year.

(j) A second objection is raised by some; namely, the difficulty of selecting the favored few in those countries where the restriction would be severe. This difficulty, however, would be completely obviated by the steamship companies themselves. Immigrants would secure passage in the order of their purchase of tickets; first come, first served.

(k) In order to alleviate hardship as far as possible, might not immigration inspection offices be established in the principal ports of departure, and provision be made that all immigration from specified regions should receive inspection at those offices alone, such inspection to be final?

Would not the above proposals for a Comprehensive and Constructive Immigration Policy coordinate, systematize and rationalize our entire procedure in dealing with immigration, and solve in a fundamental way its most perplexing difficulties? Such a policy would protect *American labor from danger of sudden and excessive*

immigration from any land. It would promote the wholesome and rapid assimilation of all newcomers. It would regulate the rate of the coming of immigrants from any land by the proven capacity for Americanization of those from that land already here. It would keep the newcomers always in the minority. It would be free from every trace of differential race treatment. Our relations with Japan and China would thus be right. Such a policy, therefore, giving to every people the "most favored nation" treatment, would maintain and deepen our international friendship on every side.

Criticism of this plan is invited. If the student finds himself in harmony with this proposal a letter of endorsement would be appreciated.

3. THE NEW DIPLOMACY

China and Japan have been placed in a serious economic and political predicament by the aggressive and militaristic nations of Christendom.

Like the traveler from Jerusalem to Jericho, they have been beaten and robbed. Should we not, like good Samaritans, take steps to heal the wounds already inflicted upon them, to protect them from further predatory aggression, and, so far as in us lies, to aid them—especially China—in getting a wholesome and safe start on the arduous road on which they have started?

What then is the duty of America at this time in its relations to Asia? What responsibilities have we, if any? What may we do to put and keep ourselves right with the Orient? How may we render them helpful service?

Both China and Japan are facing mighty problems

The early solution of those problems concerns, not themselves alone, but all the world. Our fate is in truth involved in theirs. The urgency accordingly of their appeal should command our earnest and sympathetic attention and secure our action. Our own national welfare through the long future, no less than our national character, is intimately involved in our response to that appeal.

A brief glimpse at the history of our treatment of China and Japan and of their friendship for us will throw important light on our duty, upon the character of the New Diplomacy that not only our statesmen, but the entire nation, should adopt. China's appeal for justice and friendly treatment was made decades ago, but has been largely ignored by the statesmen and Christians of America. Japan's appeal is more recent. Will America heed it any better?

American Treatment of China. The story of our dealings with China is as a whole one of which we need not be ashamed. We have not shared in the aggressive designs of European peoples. We have not seized her territory, bombarded her ports, exacted indemnities or pillaged her capitals as have other nations. On the contrary, we have helped preserve her from "partition" at a grave crisis in her relations with western nations. We are returning a considerable part of the Boxer indemnity that came to us. By 1940 the sum returned will amount to \$39,000,000. We have stood for the "open door" and a "square deal." Our consular courts have been models of probity and justice. The work of our missionaries in hospitals, in education, in famine and flood relief has *been highly appreciated.*

In consequence of such factors the Chinese as a nation hold to-day a highly gratifying attitude of friendship toward us. So conspicuous has this friendship and preferential treatment become since the establishment of the Republic that other nations have begun to note it. In the reforms taking place in China, especially in her educational system, in her political and social reorganization, and in her moral and religious awakening, the influence of Americans is far beyond that exercised by any other people.

When we turn, however, to the story of what many Chinese have suffered here our cheeks tingle with shame. The story would be incredible were it not overwhelmingly verified by ample documentary evidence. Treaties have pledged rights, immunities and protection. They have, nevertheless, been disregarded and even knowingly evaded; and this not only by private individuals, but by legislators and administrative officials. Scores of Chinese have been murdered, hundreds wounded and thousands robbed by anti-Asiatic mobs, with no protection for the victims or punishment for the culprits. State legislatures, and even Congress, have enacted laws in contravention of treaty provisions. Men appointed to federal executive offices have at times administered those laws and regulations in highly offensive methods.

If the faithful observance of treaties between the nations of Europe constitutes the very foundation of civilization, as we are now vehemently told—and this is said to be the real reason why Great Britain is in the war—is not the faithful observance of treaties with Asiatics the foundation of right relations with them?

Now when China becomes equipped with a daily

and adequate world news, when her national organization becomes better unified, more efficient and better equipped, when her self-consciousness is more perfectly developed, and when she learns that Chinese entering America have often suffered ignominious treatment, that Chinese here are lawfully deprived of rights guaranteed by long standing treaties, and that privileges granted as a matter of course to individuals of other nations are refused to Chinese on exclusively racial grounds, is it not as certain as the rising of the sun that Chinese friendship for America will wane and serious possibilities develop?

American Treatment of Japan. For half a century that treatment was above reproach, and, being in marked contrast to that of other lands, called forth a gratitude toward, a friendship for, and a confidence in America that Americans cannot easily realize. I must not do more than refer to our helpful diplomacy throughout the entire period, our return of the Shimonoseki Indemnity (\$785,000), the educational and philanthropic work of American missionaries, and our welcome in America for Japanese students, giving them every facility, not only in our schools and colleges, but in our factories and industries.

The mutual attitude, however, of the two countries has begun to change. Tension, more or less, exists between us to-day. Papers in both countries frequently assert in startling headlines that war is certain. Multitudes in both lands accept these statements without question, and are developing mutual suspicion, distrust, and animosity. False stories are widely circulating in each *land, about the other*, which are readily believed.

European Aggressions in China. We should also note briefly some details concerning China's experiences at the hands of Europe.

In the nineties the "powers" of Europe, having completed their "division of Africa," began to look with greedy eyes on China. In 1895 Germany, Russia and France compelled Japan to return Port Arthur to China in order to maintain, as they stated in their deceitful diplomacy, the integrity of China and provide for the permanent peace of the Far East. Then in 1897-1898, Germany took Kiaowchow for the killing of two German missionaries. Russia took Wei-hai-wei and France, Kwanchow. In each case the impotent Manchu Government made treaties with the aggressive "friendly powers," giving them increasing concessions and privileges. The people got anxious. The occidental aggressions led (1900) to the Boxer Uprising. China's common people sought to turn the white man out and keep "China for the Chinese." But it was too late. Six "civilized" armies marched up to Peking to teach China a lesson regarding the sacredness of treaties and the white man's "rights," saddled upon China an indemnity of \$682,000,000, far exceeding the actual costs. Poor China!

Then, according to mutual agreement, all the allies except Russia withdrew their troops. The latter, ignoring her promise, not only left her soldiers in Manchuria but began to send in thousands more. Japan got anxious. Negotiations were started. Russia dallied and delayed, still increasing her forces, completing her Siberian railroad, and gaining diplomatic and other footholds in corrupt and intriguing Korea. This exasperating, in-

lent and ominous policy produced the break between Japan and Russia.

The Russo-Japanese War. Japan felt that the complete possession by Russia of Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea threatened her very existence as an independent nation, and that the "partition of China" also would be a mere question of time. But Japan's earnest grasp at "civilization" had been so far successful that single-handed, though indirectly supported by her alliance with Great Britain, she beat back the "Bear of the North," and for the time being saved, not only herself, but also China from the impending "White Peril" that had swept over all South Asia from Mesopotamia to Cochin China, and North Asia from European Russia to Alaska.

But enough. Further statement of occidental wrongdoing in the Far East is needless. In the light, however, of these experiences by Asiatics, and the conditions produced thereby, we may now formulate a few suggestions as to the general character of the policy which the United States should pursue in its dealings with China and Japan. It must be in general a policy that will continuously win their good-will and inspire confidence in our character and our international purposes. Does the following enumeration meet the requirements?

1. Among the delicate problems immediately confronting both the United States and Japan is that of their respective policies in the Pacific Ocean. "The Mastery of the Pacific" is a favorite theme with jingo writers and agitators on both sides of the Ocean. Japan has recently acquired certain islands formerly belonging to Germany. In reaching them she inevitably crosses the *line of our travel* to the Philippine Islands. Should

Japan, after the fashion of the western nations, and as we ourselves have done in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, proceed to fortify one or more of those newly-acquired islands and build upon them strong naval bases, what would be the effect upon American feelings and upon America's Pacific Ocean policies?

This question may throw light upon the not unnatural feelings and apprehensions entertained by some Japanese because of America's expansion in the Pacific through the acquisition of Alaska, the Aleutian Islands, the Hawaiian Islands, Guam, and the Philippine Islands, especially because of our establishment of powerful military and naval bases at Honolulu and Corregidor.

In view of all the circumstances, and also in view of the proposal of the United States to give the Filipinos their independence in the not distant future, would it not be advisable for the United States, Japan, Great Britain and other governments possessing islands in the Pacific Ocean, after full conference, to enter upon a mutual compact; first, to maintain the complete independence and integrity of the Philippine Islands; second, to fortify and use as naval bases no islands in the Pacific Ocean; third, to dismantle such fortifications as now exist (Honolulu, for instance)?

This proposal, of course, does not mean that Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Formosa or the Philippines shall be unfortified, or have no naval bases. This proposition concerns only those islands out in the Pacific which might be made convenient stepping stones across the Pacific in case of conflict.

Such a procedure would make the Pacific Ocean truly "*pacific*"—an unfortified ocean between East and West

Under such conditions a naval attack by Japan upon the United States or a naval attack by the United States upon Japan would be practically impossible.

Such joint action would be a pledge of the most powerful and striking kind, that any difficulties that may arise between the United States and Japan would be settled by reason and conference, not by appeal to force. The common agreement by Japan and the United States to endorse and follow such a policy would destroy the foundations of many an aggravating jingoistic attack in each land upon the other, and would also confirm the confidence of each land in the good-will and sincerity of the international policies of the other.

2. Might not American diplomacy take steps to suggest to the various Powers the importance of making adequate provision for the political independence and integrity of China? Is not this a time peculiarly appropriate for such action? Should not International plans be made and agreements entered upon at an early date for the return to China by the European powers of all the sections of her territory that have been taken from her? Naturally this return must be arranged for in such wise that injury shall not be done to private individuals. Such return can, of course, be effected only when China is prepared to administer these "concessions" with justice and equity to all. But the knowledge on the part of China that the Powers are ready to return these ports and provinces as soon as she qualifies for their administration would not only remove animosity and suspicion, and produce a fine feeling of trust and good-will, but would be a powerful factor in the promotion of Chinese *development*.

These suggestions do not of course propose instant action without suitable guarantees or compensations. History has established certain conditions which cannot be treated as though they were not. Yet the sovereignty and dignity of China demand that these conditions shall not permanently remain. China, on her side, must of course qualify for the resumption of these rights and responsibilities. Plans honorable and equitable for all the parties concerned can certainly be found when selfish ambitions are abandoned. It is folly for Occidentals to fancy that China can feel really friendly to western nations so long as they hold, by military force, strategic places within her boundaries. Foreign troops in her capital and foreign domination in important ports and provinces insult her dignity and infringe her sovereignty.

Having said thus much on behalf of China it may be desirable to add that China should *really qualify* for such recovery of rights. No sham reforms or superficial changes will suffice. Her plight to-day is in no small part due to the political stupidity, practical insufficiency and financial corruption of her political leaders. The foreign Governments have been practically forced to impose many of the obnoxious conditions because of China's own faulty actions and lack of response to the new world-order.

In contrast to China look at Japan. She took a virile course. She completely reorganized her government, her educational system, her courts of justice, her police system and everything else as well as her army and navy. China needs to do the same. Those who do it must be genuine men, true patriots and high-minded, *self-sacrificing reformers*. Not until genuine patriots in *12*

numbers arise, clean, incorruptible, self-sacrificing, may we look for that national regeneration pre-essential to the recovery and continued maintenance of international independence.

The world, on the other hand, cannot afford to coddle China. Not only China's own welfare, but that of every nation is vitally connected with her early attainment of political stability and of harmonious response to the new world-environment. The world cannot afford to have enormous international slums. China must set her house in order. If she does not, others will. Nor may she long pose as a friendless, helpless maiden looking to the United States as a big brother to come to her rescue. She must help herself. Until she does her own part, no outside forces can help her much.

The real cause of Korea's failure to maintain her national independence was in her inner incompetence and corruption. She was unable to reform her social structure, moral life, and political practises to meet the demands of the new world-environment. Should the hundreds of Chinese students now studying in America prove as capable and self-sacrificing as did Japan's students who came to the West in the seventies and eighties, and should there arise great patriots in China as in Japan in the sixties, seventies and eighties, then there is hope for China. A mere change, however, in the form of government from Empire to Republic without change in the hearts and heads and lives of those in office will avail China nothing. Indeed a corrupt republic is sure to be just as helpless and in reality just as hopeless as a corrupt empire.

If the United States takes steps to aid China in the

recovery of international status and sovereignty, China on her part should be clearly shown the conditions and significance of that help.

3. "Extra-territoriality" is a familiar word in the Far East. It refers to the administration of occidental laws in oriental territory. English consular courts, for instance, administer English law; French consular courts, French law; German courts, German law; American courts, American law, and similarly throughout the list of western nations having treaties with China. This arrangement was doubtless inevitable when relations were first established between the lands of the West and the East. Japan, however, resenting this invasion of her sovereignty, promptly proceeded to qualify in order to meet the requirements and get rid of the obnoxious and humiliating situation. For the fair name and self-respect of China and in the establishment of right international relations, should not the western nations frankly say to China, collectively or individually, that they are willing to give up enforcement of "extra-territorial" laws and practises as soon as China qualifies herself to administer justice on cosmopolitan principles? Would not such an announcement have powerful influence, not only in promoting right feelings in China toward occidental nations, but also in giving strength to the reform movements in China, inspiring them with strong motives and holding out splendid international results to be secured by national progress? Might not America lead off in such a splendid move, which could bring nothing but gain to China and honor for all the participating nations?

4. Among the humiliating and injurious conditi

forced on China by the aggressive nations of Christendom is the requirement that she shall not impose an import duty of more than five per cent. ad valorem. This is a clear infringement of China's sovereignty (in the advantages of which all the nations are sharing) as well as a serious handicap to her economic prosperity. It prevents the Government of China not only from utilizing a source of revenue that every western government draws upon heavily, especially America, but also from promoting home industries through the aid of a protective tariff. The importance of this latter point America has special reason to know. In the interests, therefore, of China's own economic welfare, as well as out of regard to her sovereignty, should not the nations of the West take early steps to return to China full power to regulate her own import duties? What western nation would accept dictation from others in such a vital matter?

Why may not American diplomacy take the lead in securing such a restoration? Of course, the imposition of higher import duties would doubtless interrupt occidental and Japanese trade, but would it not be to China's real and permanent advantage? In the long run would not a prosperous China be a better trader with other lands than a poverty-stricken country and a financially impotent Government?

5. "Spheres of Influence" is another well-known phrase in Chinese affairs. Each of the aggressive governments of the West, seeking special privileges for their traders and capitalists, has secured from China special concessions in specified areas of her territory. In the Russian "*sphere of influence*" other nations suffer discrim-

inatory treatment and do not enjoy full opportunity for trade and the various economic advantages; similarly in the British, French and Japanese "spheres of influence." These "spheres of influence" are secured and protected by certain treaty pledges. Carefully considered, these "spheres of influence" are incipient infringements of Chinese sovereignty, concessions that under certain conditions might easily develop into the "partition of China among the powers."

What western nation would for a moment endure a proposal from another nation to grant it a "sphere of influence"? Has not the time come for the leading nations of the world to abandon this invidious and obnoxious practise so humiliating to China? Why should not Germans, British, Russians, Japanese, French, Americans, Spanish and other individuals enjoy equal advantages, rights and privileges in any and every part of China to which foreigners are admitted?

Would it not be to China's permanent interest, and also to the real interest of every nation, to do away with all "spheres of influence"? If so, would it not be a suitable and friendly act for America to take the needful steps to bring this question also before the nations and secure cooperative action? For in this as in the other cases, no nation can act alone. The action must be collective or no forward step is possible.

6. America's duty in the Philippines is to be estimated not only from the standpoint of our material and financial interests, and of the welfare of the many tribes that inhabit those islands, but also from that of the whole international situation. When we took over their ownership from Spain we became responsible not.

for the peace and prosperity of the people but also for the maintenance of their right relations with the rest of the world.

Before granting them complete independence therefore we must be sure that they are able not only to maintain a stable government, and deal justly with one another, but also to deal justly with aliens in their territory and with the governments of the world. Should we withdraw before they are ready to fulfil these conditions, political, commercial and financial chaos would necessitate either reoccupation by us or occupation by some other government. Their seizure, however, whether by France, England, Germany, Australia or Japan, could not fail to cause fresh international tension between the nations. These considerations make it clear that American oriental diplomacy must proceed cautiously and with assured knowledge of the consequences before we grant complete independence.

7. Might not Congress invite to the United States as guests of the nation groups of the leading statesmen from China and Japan? This should of course be done in a spirit of fraternal good-will, avoiding every appearance of patronage or condescension. These men should visit a score of our principal cities, spending enough time in Washington to make personal acquaintances. They should make addresses at our principal universities, and meet our leading representatives of business and labor in the Chambers of Commerce, Central Labor Councils and the great national gatherings of many kinds. Consultations should be held as to methods for promoting international acquaintance and good-will.

8. *What better method* could be devised for grappling

with the real problems of our relations with Asia than the establishment by Congress of a "Federal Commission on Oriental Relations"? Let it take adequate time to study the new international and interracial situation arising with the new world-order. This Commission might well be composed of our ablest international lawyers, statesmen, economists and sociologists. Let them consider every phase of the problems of our relations with Japan and China, formulate proposals for Federal legislation, and let Congress endorse and pass such recommendations as they may make. The Commission might well visit both Japan and China and consult fully with the statesmen of those lands.

9. Might not Congress appropriate a million dollars annually, one half of which should provide scholarships to Japanese and Chinese students for study in the United States and the other half be used for American students to study in Japan and China? Consider what would be the effect on our mutual understanding and appreciation and also on the development of commerce, if such a policy were carried out for thirty years.

In carrying out this proposal, extreme care would of course be needed. This applies not only to the selection of Japanese and Chinese students to come to America, but also of American students to go to the Orient. Only men of tested moral character should be subjected to the moral strain of life in a foreign land. "To send our boys to the Orient indiscriminately would of course wreck them," writes a friend. The institutions to which they go, their courses of study and their residences should be decided on consultation with proper advisers. Their work and conduct should be subject to the super-

vision of responsible administrators. These should have authority to send home at once those who do not conform to the required standards of life, conduct and scholarship. Properly safeguarded, great good could not fail to come from the interchange of students.

10. Again, might not visits to China and Japan be made in numbers by business men and members of women's clubs and societies? Let them go, not merely as dilettante sightseers, curio-hunters and pleasure seekers, but as students in serious quest of international knowledge. Let them spend the needed time, three or four months at least, in studying and traveling. The interest no less than the value of such travel would be far greater than that experienced by the ordinary "globe-trotter." The results, moreover, not only in the shape of head knowledge, but in that of sympathy and appreciation, would be an important contribution to the cause of universal good-will and permanent peace.

11. Regarding the question of race intermarriage between Caucasians and Asiatics, should not an interracial commission of experts in biology, psychology and sociology be established for the study of the actual results of race amalgamation? Should intermarriage be found to be as a rule disastrous, resulting in many abnormal or subnormal individuals, or in monstrosities, physical or moral, laws forbidding intermarriage, could easily be passed in Japan and China as well as among Caucasian peoples. Laws passed under such circumstances would not be misunderstood as being due to race prejudice, and would not accordingly be resented by either side.

12. In time of special calamity in Japan and China—*of flood, famine and earthquake*—let Congress appro-

priate adequate sums for relief, amounting if need be even to millions of dollars.

13. Let private enterprise continue in increasing measure the excellent work of the past, in education, medical work, philanthropy, and the direct proclamation of the Gospel message of the Heavenly Father's love and the brotherhood of man. These are the great creative ideas and forces which lift individuals and peoples to higher levels of life and to nobler manhood. These are the deeds of kindness that break down prejudice, and call forth confidence and establish good-will.

Such are the main principles and proposals of those who urge "Golden Rule Internationalism" as the solution of the problem confronting the Occident due to the awakening of Asia and her entrance into the life of the world.

In his notable address at Mobile (October, 1913) President Wilson well stated the general principles of true international relationships. He was speaking, it is true, with the South American nations in view, but his words are equally true of the world as a whole. As reported by the press, he said:

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions, upon terms of equality and honor. We cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality. We cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor, and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not. It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest. It not only is unfair to those with whom

you are dealing, but it is degrading upon the part of your own actions.

"Human rights, national integrity and opportunity, as against material interests—that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face."¹

REFERENCE LITERATURE ON CHAPTER IV

The first published proposal for the restriction of all immigration along the lines of this chapter is contained in *The American Japanese Problem*, Chapter XVII. A briefer statement was made in the *The Fight for Peace*, Chapter XII. The most explicit and adequate presentation of the proposal, and the most complete tabulation of the statistics bearing upon the matter, is given in the preceding pages and in the Appendix.

The volume entitled "The Japanese Problem in the United States." Chapter XI supports the proposed plan to limit all immigration on a percentage plan.

"Protection of Aliens," reports of committee of Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, viz.:

Baldwin, "Protection by the United States of the Rights of Aliens," *Proceedings of 1915*, p. 148.

Short, "Federal Protection of Aliens in the United States," *Proceedings of 1914*, p. 74.

Wilson, "Treaty Obligations and Protection of Aliens," *Proceedings of 1913*, p. 189.

¹ Quoted from the author's *The Fight for Peace*, 151.

CONCLUSION

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

A practical question is now before us. How is such a policy as that outlined in the preceding chapter to become effective? Who should advocate it and insist upon its being put into operation?

It runs counter to much of our past. It conflicts with not a few local prejudices and many material interests. The obstacles to its adoption are many, and many of these are powerful. Perhaps the most powerful of all is the momentum of bad habits, national and international. If, therefore, the third policy is the right one for America, those who take that view must consider how its adoption is to be secured.

The United States, fortunately, is so organized politically that every citizen has his share of responsibility and also of opportunity, for all that happens. Any movement therefore of thought or will which is sufficiently accepted by the people may be put into practise and tested.

The method also for securing the national adoption of this policy is clear. Those who believe in it must first carry on a nation-wide campaign of education. Few, relatively speaking, know as yet the facts and the factors of America's Oriental Problem. When the campaign of education has sufficiently advanced the time will come for legislation. And finally, when legislation has been enacted, then will the time come for administrative

officials, diplomats, and ambassadors to carry out the will of the people.

Who now should be regarded as responsible for the adoption of the proposed policy?

1. *Business men* who desire opportunity for uninterrupted trade under the most extensive and most wholesome conditions. Can anyone question the proposition that the third policy will ultimately produce conditions far more favorable for commerce than either of the other policies?

2. *Citizens* in all the lowly walks of life, and laboring classes, who desire the lowest possible taxation and the greatest possible prosperity through uninterrupted opportunity for work. If the arguments advanced in these pages are correct the pursuance of either the first or the second policy cannot fail to entail vast expenses for military and naval development. The third policy alone gives promise of diminishing expenses in preparations for war, and of promoting the highest general prosperity.

3. *Industrial workers, parents, women and children* upon whom the tragedy of war falls most heavily. Policies one and two cannot fail sooner or later to involve the United States in a conflict with Asia. While capitalistic classes suffer somewhat they also often make vast profits out of war. The real sufferers are the young men who are wounded and crippled for life, the parents who lose support, the mothers, the widows, and the orphaned children. These then are classes who should feel the responsibility for adopting the third policy.

4. *Christians*, who believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. War between peoples and

racess is no part of God's plan for his children. War conflicts with the establishment of those relations of justice, righteousness and good-will that are fundamental factors in the kingdom of Heaven.

5. *Foreign Mission Boards and Societies* should be supremely conscious of their responsibility for the adoption of this third policy. These groups of men and women devoted to foreign missions are actively concerned with the establishment in foreign lands of the kingdom of Love first proclaimed by Jesus Christ. One of the mighty obstacles, however, to the success of their enterprise is the failure of Christian lands and our own land to adopt the principles of the Kingdom in their dealings with the Orient. It would therefore seem that all Christians whose hearts have already become so opened to the mighty vision of a world-brotherhood, and whose efforts are devoted to its realization, should be actively opposed to the continuance of policies one and two. Are they not the ones who should take every possible step to secure the early adoption of policy three? The outbreak of war between Japan and America, or between China and America, would ring the death knell of missionary work in those lands.

What factor for promoting Christian Missions in Japan and China is more important than the adoption by America of the third policy?

If the above considerations are cogent then why should there not be developed an active campaign in all parts of America for the study of this problem and the adoption of these principles?

Such a campaign is indeed beginning. The Wor

Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the churches—American Branch—is inviting every local church to establish its own Peace Makers' Committee. By this act the churches will become affiliated with each other and with the World Alliance of Churches, and will together enter on those courses of study and action for the development of intelligent public opinion upon which reliance must be placed for the effective adoption by the nation of the Golden Rule as its guiding principle in international relations. What more important duty calls to-day for patriotic volunteers than this of setting right our relations with Asia and Asiatics? All who believe in the New Internationalism should cooperate in the demand that righteousness and good-will dominate America's International Policies.

"Blessed are the Peace Makers."

APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL TABLES AND CHARTS

The statistical tables of this appendix give the actual immigration of the five years ending June 30, 1915, so classified as to show what the effect upon that immigration would have been if the proposed five per cent. standard for its limitation had been in force. The basal figures here given have been especially prepared for the writer by the statistician of the Bureau of Immigration.

In classifying aliens the Immigration Bureau distinguishes between immigrants (who come for permanent residence here) and non-immigrants (who come for a transient stay). The five per cent. restriction proposal does not in any way limit the entering of non-immigrants, of children or of women. It affects only males fourteen years of age and over.

Column 6 gives the standards for the maximum permissible annual immigration of males from the various races and peoples according to the five per cent. restriction policy here advocated. This column is derived from the Census of 1910; the figure for each people is five per cent. of the American-born children of foreign parents of that people plus the number of those from that same people who have become naturalized citizens. This last item (the naturalized citizens) was secured "by mathematical calculations based upon Tables XIII and XXXIII, pp. 975 and 1082, Vol. I, of the Census Population Report for 1910." Subtracting the figures of

column 6 from those of column 5 (the average annual number of males actually admitted) we secure column 7, showing the annual average number of males who would have been excluded had the five per cent. limitation principle been in force.

The number of immigrant children admitted during the five years ending June 30, 1915, may be secured by subtracting the sum of the figures given in Table I, columns 3 and 4 from the corresponding figures given in column 2.

In order to show in more detail the working of the five per cent. limitation plan, Tables III and IV have been added dealing with Japan, China and Italy for each year from 1911 to 1915.

POINTS TO NOTICE

1. The proposals here made would impose a more rigid restriction not only upon Japanese but also upon Chinese than that which is imposed by the present laws and arrangements.

2. The restriction upon Italians is particularly striking. But note the large disparity between Italian male and female immigrants (Table III, columns 4 and 5).

3. The plan here proposed if in force would have imposed no restriction upon Hebrew immigration.

4. The average immigration from Europe for the past five years was of course seriously disturbed by a striking decrease for 1915 because of the war. Allowance must be made for this factor.

5. The restriction of the immigration of men will of course sooner or later affect that of women and children.

6. *In column 6, 1,000 should be substituted in each*

place where the five per cent. rate would allow an immigration less than this amount, in harmony with the proposal of paragraph (d) on page 54. This explains the apparent discrepancy between charts on pages 86 and 89 as to the maximum permissible immigration of South Europeans.¹

7. The total annual average immigration of males from those countries whose actual immigration was less than their permissible maximum amounted to about 170,000, while the total permissible annual immigration of males from those countries that exceeded their permissible maximum amounted to about 136,000. If the immigration, therefore, of the past five years had been regulated by the policy set forth in this pamphlet, the average immigration of males from all countries would have been about 306,000 annually, instead of the average of 518,000 which actually were admitted.

8. The apparent discrepancy between the total immigration given on page 87 and the total admissions from Europe alone given on page 88 is due to the inclusion of non-immigrants in the latter figure and their exclusion from the former figure.

¹ To simplify the charts, South Europeans is used for South and East, and North Europeans for North and West Europeans.

TABLES SHOWING HOW THE FIVE PER CENT RESTRICTION PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE AFFECTED IMMIGRATION FOR THE PERIOD 1911-1915

RACE OR PEOPLE	TABLE I Aliens Actually Admitted During the Five Years Ending June 30, 1915; comp. Annual Reports of Immigration Bureau, Tables IV and VII B					TABLE II The Proposed Five Per Cent. Standard	
	1 Non- Immigrants	2 Immigrants	3 Female Immigrants 14 Years and Over	4 Male Immigrants 14 Years and Over	5 Annual Average of Column 4	6 Maximum Permissible Annual Im- migration of Males (1)	7 Annual Average of Males Who Would Have Been Excluded (2)
1. African (black).....	16,173	34,231	13,042	18,114	3,622	209	3,413
2. Armenian.....	780	26,384	3,346	21,786	4,236	444	3,792
3. Bolivian and Moravian.....	2,089	40,332	14,199	18,388	3,677	16,994	.....
4. Bulgarian, Serbian, and Monte- negrin.....	6,301	48,556	3,873	42,506	8,501	15,601	119,916
5. Croatian and Slovenian.....	7,938	125,073	29,088	85,083	17,010	.....	.....
6. Chinese.....	12,090	9,766	1,212	7,778	1,535	1,106	449
7. Cuban.....	13,505	17,109	4,297	10,326	2,065	590	1,475
8. Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herze- govinian.....	920	18,046	2,169	15,785	3,037	*	.....
9. Dutch and Flemish.....	16,426	58,545	15,893	30,816	6,163	12,936	.....
10. East Indian.....	263	1,124	37	1,070	214	*	.....
11. English.....	166,990	252,877	91,865	119,730	23,940	127,745	.....
12. Finnish.....	6,387	45,453	16,423	24,956	4,991	5,038	.....
13. French.....	27,595	87,968	30,525	41,036	8,327	47,735	.....
14. German.....	79,920	313,279	109,081	148,634	29,726	333,581	.....
15. Greek.....	10,690	108,299	15,833	145,859	29,171	886	28,285
16. Hebrew.....	17,719	437,666	150,083	186,402	37,280	37,342	.....
17. Irish.....	49,317	108,592	75,491	81,220	16,244	201,491	.....
18. Italian (North).....	36,282	154,751	33,319	104,502	20,900	1145,768	1172,568
19. Italian (South).....	96,051	825,250	175,281	537,181	107,436	.....	.....
20. Japanese.....	15,562	36,599	22,317	12,292	2,458	.....	1,238
21. Korean.....	58	403	205	159	32	* 1,220	.....

22. Lithuanian.....	2,697	79,974	28,442	44,766	8,953	4,360	3,593
23. Magyar.....	11,845	122,347	40,975	61,616	12,323	5,436	6,887
24. Mexican.....	23,462	75,821	20,179	36,752	7,350	8,648	.....
25. Pacific Islander.....	70	33	11	20	4	*	.....
26. Polish.....	26,631	462,696	151,664	260,008	52,001	49,212	2,789
27. Portuguese.....	4,702	44,401	12,274	24,809	4,961	3,788	1,173
28. Roumanian.....	4,038	52,301	8,836	40,320	8,064	676	7,388
29. Russian.....	15,789	142,107	16,255	119,513	23,902	2,203	21,699
30. Ruthenian (Russniak).....	21,104	109,937	37,786	65,262	13,052	663	12,389
31. Scandinavian.....	56,621	176,513	58,573	102,701	20,520	102,095	.....
32. Scotch.....	41,193	100,518	37,603	40,275	9,235	38,776	.....
33. Slovak.....	7,153	101,815	33,385	53,849	10,769	6,831	3,938
34. Spanish.....	25,870	42,949	6,981	31,254	6,250	906	5,344
35. Spanish-American.....	9,268	7,069	1,764	4,237	847	128	719
36. Syrian.....	2,953	30,969	8,114	18,691	3,738	844	2,894
37. Turkish.....	436	7,235	370	6,672	1,334	58	1,276
38. Welsh.....	4,278	11,255	3,245	6,230	1,246	12,188	.....
39. West Indian (except Cuba).....	6,329	5,663	2,213	2,814	562	17	445
40. Others.....	2,009	15,728	1,174	13,954	2,790	.....	.....
Totals.....	852,176	4,459,831	1,276,763	2,592,770	518,554	.....	.....

(1) For the derivation of the figures given in this column, see explanatory paragraph page 79.

(2) The figures of this column are secured by subtracting the figures of column 6 from those of column 5.

* No Census Data.

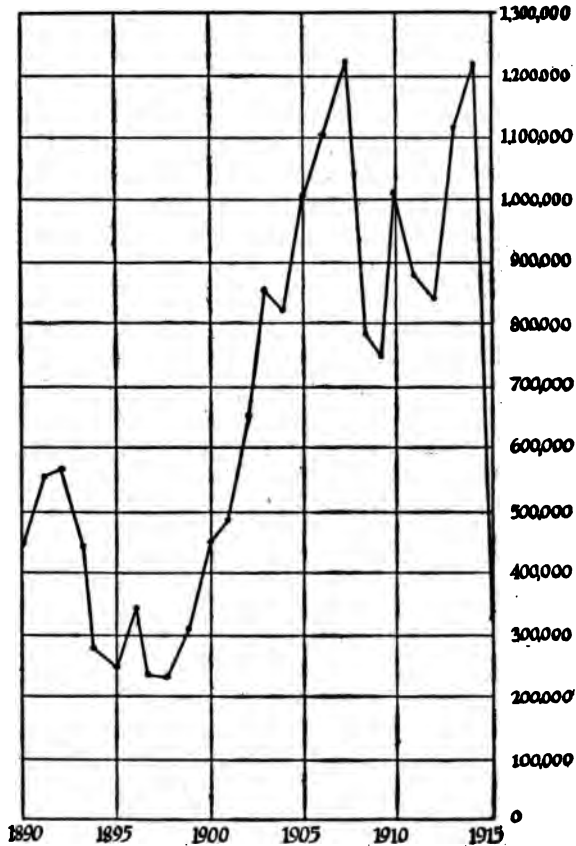
† Bulgarians, Croatians, etc., are combined in this column.

‡ North and South Italians are combined in this column.

TABLES SHOWING HOW THE FIVE PER CENT. RESTRICTION PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE AFFECTED IMMIGRATION FROM JAPAN, CHINA, AND ITALY FOR EACH OF THE FIVE YEARS INDICATED

TABLE III						TABLE IV	
Aliens Actually Admitted for the Years Indicated; cf. Annual Reports of Immigration Bureau						The Proposed Five Per Cent. Standard	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Non- Immigrants	Immigrants	Children Under 14	Women 14 Years and Over	Men 14 Years and Over	Maximum Permissible Annual Immigration of Males	Males Who Would Have Been Excluded	
JAPANESE:							
1911.....	1,915	300	3,011	1,264	1,220	44	
1912.....	2,574	328	4,123	1,721	1,220	501	
1913.....	3,370	437	4,988	2,877	1,220	1,057	
1914.....	4,075	438	5,502	3,001	1,220	1,781	
1915.....	3,628	487	4,693	3,429	1,220	2,209	
15,562	36,599	1,990	22,317	12,202	6,100	6,192	
CHINESE:							
1911.....	4,350	112	165	1,030	1,106	....
1912.....	3,883	207	201	1,200	1,106	94	
1913.....	1,465	189	303	1,530	1,106	424	
1914.....	1,218	144	276	1,034	1,106	828	
1915.....	1,174	118	267	2,084	1,106	978	
12,090	9,760	770	1,212	7,778	5,530	2,324	
ITALIANS:							
1911.....	23,410	24,071	39,761	126,118	45,768	80,350	
1912.....	27,659	23,114	38,262	100,867	45,768	55,099	
1913.....	44,372	31,550	50,263	192,334	45,768	146,566	
1914.....	27,320	37,711	60,695	198,098	45,768	152,240	
1915.....	9,452	13,272	19,589	24,356	45,768	....
132,204	980,001	129,718	208,600	641,683	228,840	434,255	

Growth of Immigration



The 5% Restriction Proposal

CENSUS 1910

A- 5% of B

C- Resident Male Aliens 21 years of age and over

Resident Male
Aliens
(1,167,000.)

C

A

Permissible Male
Immigration.
(759,000.)

American Born
Children
(13,002,000.)

B

Naturalized
Citizens
(2,181,000.)

North Europeans

C
Resident
Male
Aliens
(1,020,000.)

A

Permissible
Male
Immigration (173,000)

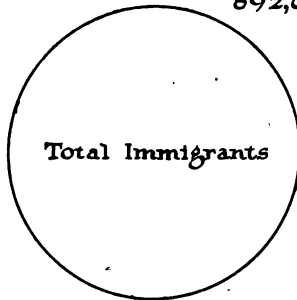
American Born
Children
(2,906,000.)
B
Naturalized
Citizens
(551,000.)

South Europeans

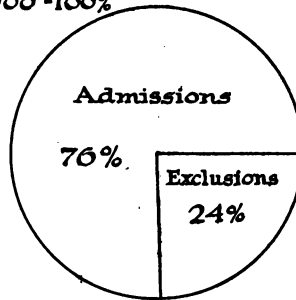
The 5% Restriction Proposal and Immigration from All Peoples

Averages for 1911-1915

892,000-100%

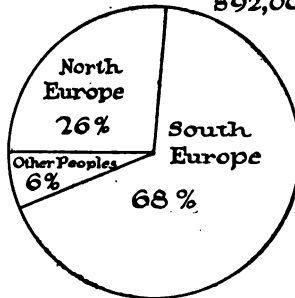


Annual admissions

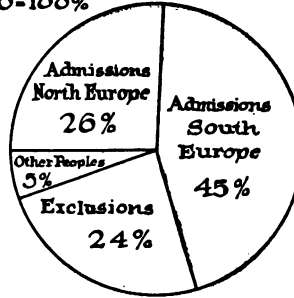


How the proposal would have affected admissions

892,000-100%



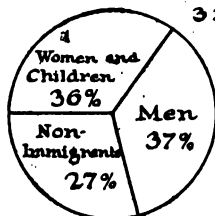
Annual admissions



How the proposal would have affected admissions

The 5% Restriction Proposal and Immigration from Europe Averages for 1911-1915

North Europe
322,000-100%

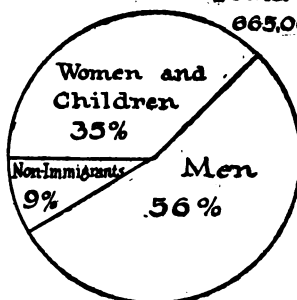


Annual admissions

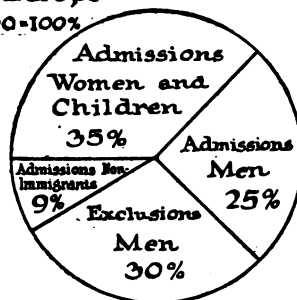


How the proposal would
have affected Immigration

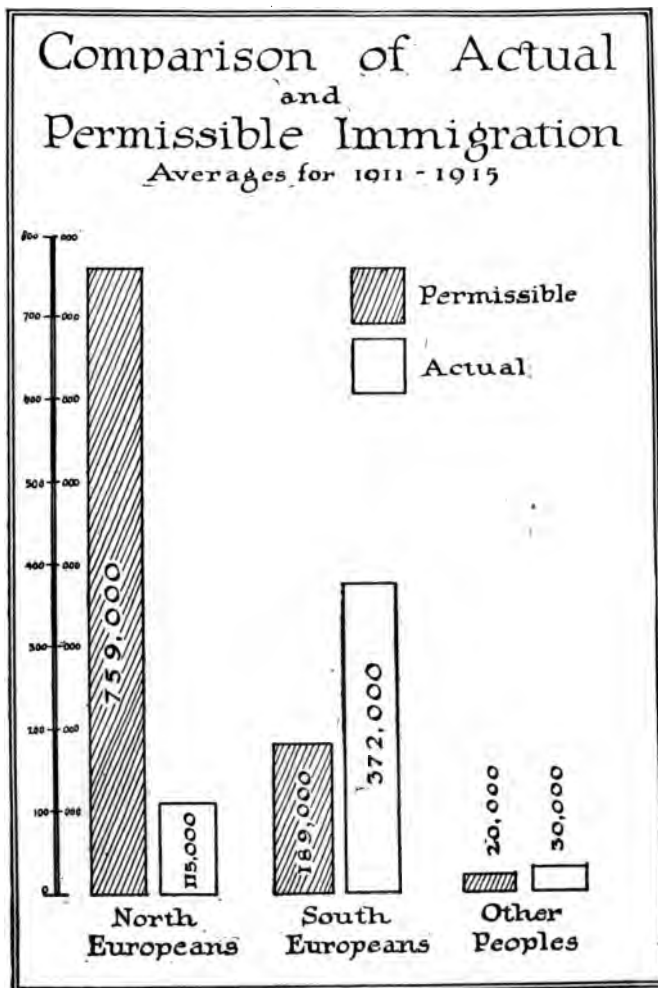
South Europe
665,000-100%

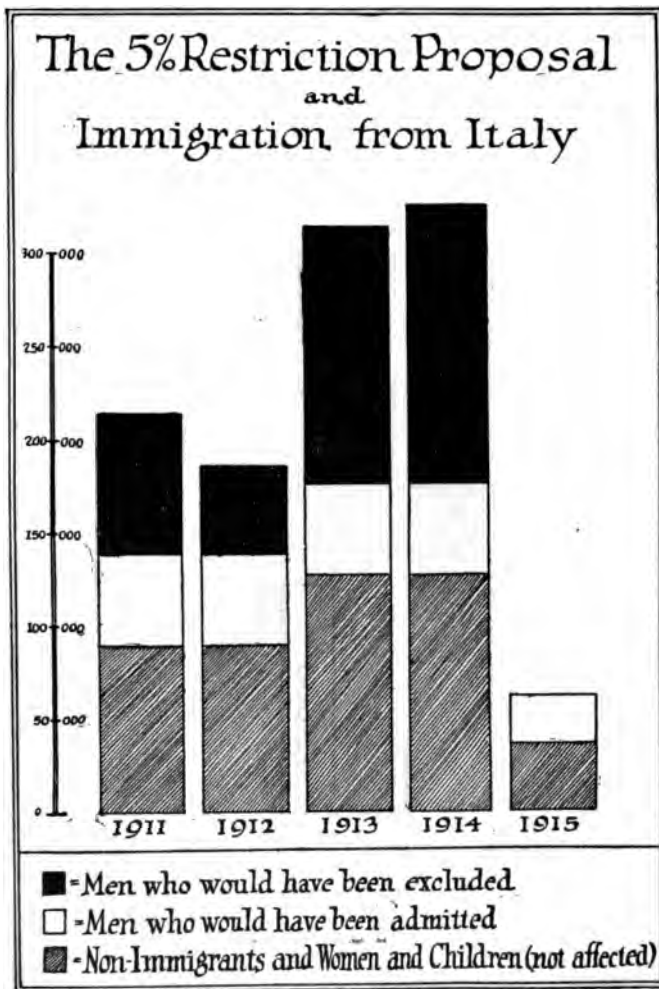


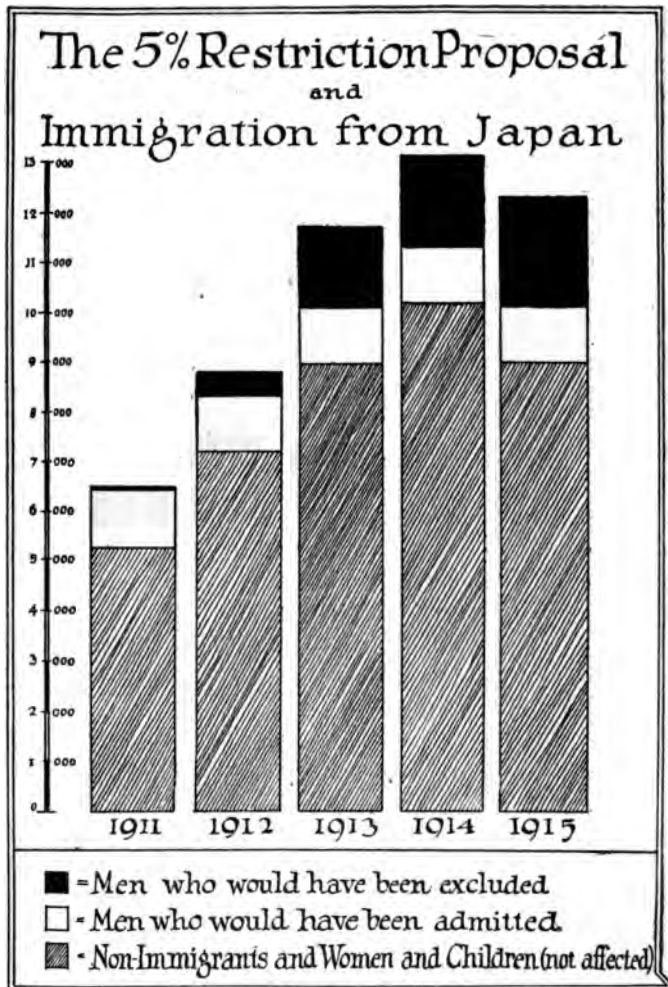
Annual admissions



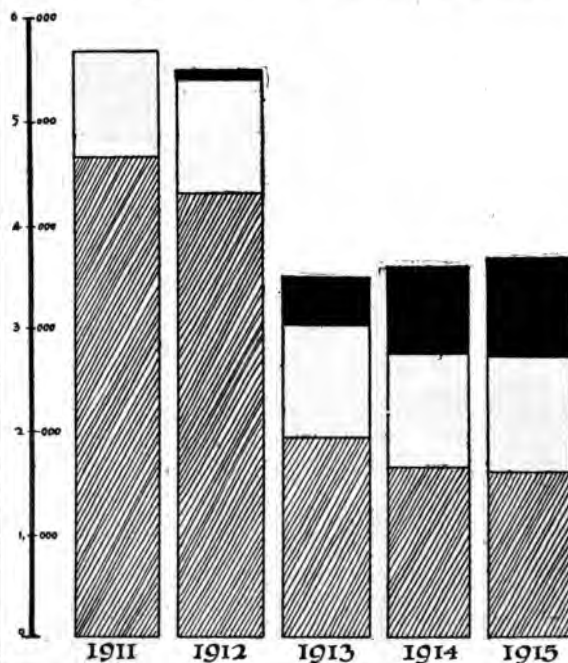
How the proposal would
have affected admissions







The 5% Restriction Proposal and Immigration from China



- - Men who would have been excluded
- - Men who would have been admitted
- ▨ - Non-Immigrants and Women and Children (^{not} affected)

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

1. *Europe's Tragedy and America's Awakening*

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

- Ainslee, Peter. *Christ or Napoleon, Which?* 1914. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Gulick, Sidney L. *The Fight for Peace.* 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Jefferson, Charles E. *Christianity and International Peace.* 1915. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York.
Lynch, Frederick. *The Last War.* 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.

2. *The Asiatic Problem*

- De Forest, John H. "The Truth About Japan." World Peace Foundation, Boston.
Jordan, David Starr. Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation, pp. 63-65, "A War Scare: The United States and Japan." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.
Jordan, David Starr. *War and Waste*, pp. 261-272, "The Japanese Immigration, Anti-Alien Legislation in California, the Race Problem of America." 1913. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

PERIODICALS

- "Captain Hobson as a War Prophet." *Review of Reviews*, New York. Vol. XXXVIII, 366, 367, September, 1908.
"Dangerous Falsehoods." *Outlook*, New York. July 26, 1913.
"Diplomatic Communications with Japan." *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CVII, 578-580, July 11, 1914.
"Dream Book: War Between Japan and the United States." *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CXI, 535, 536, November 3, 1915.
"Folly of War Talk." *Review of Reviews*, New York. Vol. XXXVI, 131-136, 1909.
"Inevitable War Between the United States and Japan," by P. H. B. d'Estournelles de Constant. *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXX, 1261-1265, 1911.
"If War Should Come," by Richmond P. Hobson. *Cosmopolitan*, New York. Vol. XLIV, 584-593; Vol. XLV, 38-47, 382-387. May-June, September, 1908.
"Japanese Bogy." *World's Work*, New York. Vol. XXI, 14076-14077, 1911.

- "Japan's Preference for Peace with America," by Y. Ichihashi. *Outlook, New York*. Vol. LXXXVII, 295-297, 1907.
- "Public Nuisance." *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXV, 161, 162, July 16, 1908.
- "Relations of Japan and the United States," by David Starr Jordan. *Journal of Race Development*, Worcester, Mass. Vol. II, 215-224, January, 1912.
- "Relations of the United States with China and Japan," by T. Iyenaga. *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia. Vol. LIV, 254-259, July, 1914.
- "Relations of the United States with China and Japan," by J. G. Kasai. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia. Vol. LIV, 260-269, July, 1914.
- "Straining an Historic Friendship," by Hamilton Holt. *Independent*, New York. May 1, 1913.
- "Views of the Navy and Japan." *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXIV, 165, 167, January 16, 1908.
- "Why Japan Cannot Declare War." *Literary Digest*, New York. Vol. XLVI, 1369, June 21, 1913.
- "Why a Japanese-American War is Impossible." *Review of Reviews*, New York. Vol. XLIII, 613, 614, 1911.
- "Yarn of Turtle Bay." *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CIX, 951. April 28, 1915.

CHAPTER II

1. *White Race World Supremacy*

BOOKS

- Millis, H. A. *The Japanese Problem in the United States*. 1915. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Abbott, James Francis. *Japanese Expansion and American Policies*. 1916. Macmillan Co., New York.

PERIODICALS

- "America, Japan and the Pacific," by A. Kinnosuke. *Harper's Weekly, New York*. Vol. LX, 177-179, February 20, 1915.
- "Inferiority of the Caucasian Race." *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXVI, 330, 331. 1909.
- "Is the United States a World Power?" by Ignotus. *North American Review*, New York. Vol. CLXXXIII, 1107-1119. 1906.
- "Issue with Japan Grows Into a World Issue." *Current Opinion*, New York. Vol. LV, 7-11, July, 1913.
- "Not the Right Way." *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CVII, 645, July 18, 1914.
- "Our Duty to China and to Japan." *Literary Digest*, New York. Vol. L, 737, 738, April 3, 1915.

2. *The Effects of the First Policy on the White Race*

BOOKS

- D'Estournelles de Constant, Baron. *Papers on International Racial Problems*, pp. 383-387, "The Respect which the White Race Owes to Other Races." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.
- Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study*. 1906. A. Constable & Co., London.

PERIODICALS

- "Americans and the Far East," by H. W. Mabie. *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CIV, 754-757, August 2, 1913.
- "Are We Honest with Japan?" by J. D. Whelpley. *Century*, New York. Vol. LXXXVIII, 105-108, May, 1914.
- "Freaks of Race Prejudice." *The Nation*, New York. Vol. LXXXIV, 168. 1907.
- "Immigration from the Orient," by H. C. Nutting. *The Nation*. New York. Vol. XCVIII, 724, 725, June 18, 1914.
- "Menaces to American Peace," by E. L. Fox. *McBrides*, New York. September, 1915, 86-90; October, 1915, 54.
- "Our Honor and Shame with Japan," by W. E. Griffiths. *North American Review*, New York. Vol. CC, 566-575, October, 1914.

3. *The Effects of the First Policy on Asiatic Peoples*

PERIODICALS

- "Attitude of Japan Toward the United States," by A. Kinnosuke. *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXII, 1457-1459, 1907.
- "Japan on the Land-Law Deadlock." *Literary Digest*, Vol. XLIX, 263, 264, August 15, 1914.
- "Japanese Conceptions of America." *Sunset*, San Francisco. Vol. XXXIV, 346, February, 1915.
- "Japanese in the United States and the Opinion in Tokyo." *Current Literature*, New York. Vol. XLIII, 483-488, 1907.
- "Japanese Rights in America." *Literary Digest*, New York. Vol. LXIX, 48-50, July 11, 1914.
- "Japanese Wrath at Our Immigration Bills." *Literary Digest*, New York. Vol. XLVIII, 252, February 7, 1914.
- "Snarl of Waking Asia." *Everybody's*, New York. Vol. XXXII, 587-600, May, 1915.
- "Yellow First," by Ackmed Abdullah. *Sunset*, San Francisco. January, 1915.
- "Yellow Pity for White Prejudice." *Literary Digest*, New York. Vol. XLIV, 525, 1912.

4. *A Critical Study of Alleged "Yellow Peril"*

PAMPHLETS

- Ladd, George Trumbull. "America and Japan." American Association for International Conciliation, New York.
 Low, Seth. "The East and the West." American Association for International Conciliation, New York.

PERIODICALS

- "American Naturalization of the Japanese," by J. H. Wigmore. *American Law Review*, Saint Louis. Vol. XXVIII, 818-837, 1904.
 "American-Japanese Discussions Relating to the Land Tenure Law of California." *American Journal of International Law*, New York. Vol. VIII, 571-578, July, 1914.
 "Americanizing the Japanese," by W. S. Harwood. *World To-Day*. Vol. IX, 1286-1292, December 19, 1905.
 "California and Japan." *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXXIV, 1053, 1115, 1116, May 8, 22, 1913.
 "California and Japan," by F. G. Peabody. *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CIV, 758, 759, August 2, 1913.
 "California and the Japanese." *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CIX, 249, 250, February 3, 1915.
 "California and the Japanese." *Review of Reviews*, New York. Vol. XXXIX, 278-280, 1909.
 "California and the Japanese," by H. A. Millis. *Survey*, New York. Vol. XXX, 332-336, June 7, 1913.
 "California and the Japanese," by Lincoln Stephens. *Collier's*, New York, March 25, 1916.
 "Can We Assimilate the Japanese?" *Literary Digest*, New York. Vol. XLVII, 165, 166, August 2, 1913.
 "Democracy and Race Friction." *American Economic Review*, Vol. IV, 936-938, December, 1914.
 "History of the Movement," by J. Foord. *Outlook*, New York. Vol. LXXXVI, 101-105, 1907.
 "Japan and the United States," by J. D. Whelpley. *Fortnightly Review*. Vol. CI, 885-892, May, 1914.
 "Japan in California," by P. C. Macfarlane. *Collier's*, New York. June 6, 1913.
 "Japanese as American Citizens." *Chautauquan*, Chautauqua, N. Y. Vol. XLII, 392-394, 1906.
 "Japanese Exclusion," by David Starr Jordan. *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXI, 1425, 1426, December 13, 1906.
 "Japanese Exclusion," by David Starr Jordan. *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXXIV, 978, May 1, 1913.
 "Japanese in California," by Chester H. Rowell. *World's Work*, New York, June, 1913.

- "Japanese Question," by John Mahan. *American Law Review*, Saint Louis, Mo. Vol. XLVIII, 698-713, September, 1914.
- "Relations of Japan and the United States," by David Starr Jordan. *Popular Science Monthly*, New York. Vol. LXXX, 151-157, February, 1912.
- "Social Assimilation: America and China," by C. R. Henderson. *American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago. Vol. XIX, 640-648, March, 1914.
- "White and Yellow in California," by M. V. Woehlke. *Outlook*, New York, May 10, 1913.

CHAPTER III

1. *World Segregation of the White and Yellow Races*

BOOKS

- Gulick, S. L. *The Fight for Peace*. 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Gulick, S. L. *The American-Japanese Problem*. 1913. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

PAMPHLETS

- Myers, Charles S. *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems*, pp. 73-78, "On the Permanence of Racial Mental Differences." 1911. World's Peace Foundation, Boston.
- Sugi, Giuseppe. *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems*, pp. 67-72, "Differences in Customs and Morals and Their Resistance to Rapid Change." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.

PERIODICALS

- "Asiatic Emigration: A World Question," by S. N. Singh. *Living Age*, Boston. Vol. CCLXXXII, 387-393, August 15, 1914.
- "Races Cannot Mingle." *North American Review*, New York. Vol. CLXXXIII, 1201-1203, 1906.
- "World's Most Menacing Problem." *Collier's*, New York. May 31, 1913.

CHAPTER IV

1. *The New Internationalism*

BOOKS

- Lynch, Frederick. *What Makes a Great Nation?* F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Mackenzie, J. S. *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems*, pp. 433-438, "Ethical Teaching in Schools with Regard to Races." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.

PERIODICALS

- "Christianity and Internationalism," by K. Kaneko. *Biblical World*, Chicago. Vol. XLV, 361, 362, June, 1915.
- "Our Nation's Duty to Japan," by D. Scudder. *The Friend* Honolulu, June, 1913.

GENERAL

- Abbott, James Francis. *Japanese Expansion and American Policies*, 1916. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Aliens, Protection of, reports of Committee of Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, viz:
- "Treaty Obligations and Protection of Aliens," by George G. Wilson, p. 189, Proceedings of 1913.
- "Federal Protection of Aliens in the United States," by William H. Short, p. 74, Proceedings of 1914.
- "Protection by the United States of the Rights of Aliens," by Simeon E. Baldwin, p. 148, Proceedings of 1915.
- "Chinese and Japanese in America." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. No. 114, September, 1909.
- Aubert, L. *Americains et Japonais*. 1908. Colin, Paris.
- Bell, H. T. M. and Woodhead, H. G. M. *China Year Book Since 1912*. George Routledge & Sons, London.
- Blakeslee, George H. "China and the Far East." Clark University Conference, 1910. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York.
- Blakeslee, George H. "Japan and Japanese-American Relations." Clark University Conference, 1912. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York.
- Bryce, James. *The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind*. 1902. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- "Report on the Japanese in California." *Biennial Reports*, 1913. Bureau of Labor, Sacramento.
- Coman, P. *Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands*. 1903. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Coolidge, Archibald C. *The United States as a World Power*. 1912. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Coolidge, M. R. *Chinese Immigration*. 1909. Henry Holt & Co., New York.
- Collier, Hiram Price. *The West in the East*. 1911. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- De Forest, John H. "The Truth About Japan." *World Peace Foundation*, Boston. 1912.
- Eliot, Charles W. "Japanese Characteristics." 1913. American Association for International Conciliation, New York.
- Eliot, Charles W. "Some Roads Toward Peace." 1912. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington.
- Finot, Jean. *Race Prejudice*. 1906. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.
- Foster, John W. *American Diplomacy in the Orient*. 1903. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
- Franklin, F. G. "The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States." *American Historical Reports*, Washington. Vol. I, 299-317.

- Graham, John W. *Evolution and Empire*. 1912. Headley Bros., London.
- Grose, H. B. *Aliens or Americans?* 1906. Missionary Education Movement, New York.
- Gulick, Sidney L. *The American-Japanese Problem*. 1914. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Gulick, Sidney L. *The Fight for Peace*. 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Gulick, Sidney L. *The White Peril in the Far East*. 1905. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Hall, P. F. *Immigration; and Its Effect upon the United States*. 1906. Henry Holt & Co., New York.
- Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study*. 1905. Constable & Co., London.
- Hourwich, I. A. *Immigration and Labor*. 1912. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Hulbert, Homer B. *The Passing of Korea*. 1906. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
- Immigration Laws of the United States, "Revised Federal Statutes."* Washington.
- Ichihashi, Y. *Japanese Immigration*. 1915. Marshall Press, San Francisco.
- Jenks, Jeremiah, and Lauck, W. J. *The Immigration Problem*. 1912. Funk & Wagnalls, New York.
- Jordan, David Starr. *War and Waste*. 1913. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
- Kawakami, Kiyoshi K. *American-Japanese Relations*. 1912. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Kawakami, Kiyoshi K. *Asia at the Door*. 1914. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Lea, Homer. *The Valor of Ignorance*. 1909. Harper & Bros., New York.
- Martin, W. A. P. *The Awakening of China*. 1907. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
- Masaoka, Naoichi. *Japan's Message to America*. 1915. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Millard, Thomas F. *America and the Far Eastern Question*. 1909. Moffatt, Yard & Co., New York.
- Millard, Thomas F. *The New Far East*. 1906. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Millis, H. A. *The Japanese Problem in the United States*. 1915. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Nitobe, I. *The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan*. 1891. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.
- Okuma, Count, et al. *Fifty Years of New Japan*. 1909. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.
- Porter, Robert P. *The Full Recognition of Japan*. 1911. Henry Frowde, London.

- Ray, Mary Katherine. *The Immigration Problem*. 1909. Wisconsin Free Library Commission, Madison.
- Reinsch, Paul S. *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*. 1911. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
- Reinsch, Paul S. *World Politics as Influenced by the Oriental Situation*. 1900. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Roberts, P. *The Immigrant Races in North America*. 1910. Association Press, New York.
- Roosevelt, T. Fifth Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1905. In James D. Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. X, 7386. 1910. Bureau of National Literature and Art, Washington.
- Royce, J. *Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems*. 1908. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Russell, Lindsay. *America to Japan*. 1915. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Scherer, J. A. B. *The Japanese Crisis*. 1916. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York.
- Shriver, William P. *Immigrant Forces*. 1913. Missionary Education Movement, New York.
- Smith, Richmond Mayo. *Emigration and Immigration*. 1908. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Spiller, G. *Inter-Racial Problems*. First Universal Races Congress, London, 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.
- Steiner, E. A. *On the Trail of the Immigrant*. 1906. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Steiner, E. A. *The Immigrant Tide*. 1913. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Steiner, E. A. *From Alien to Citizen*. 1914. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
- Streightoff, F. H. *The Standard of Living Among the Industrial People of America*. 1911. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
- Taft, William H. *The United States and Peace*. 1914. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Uyehara, G. E. *The Political Development of Japan*. 1910. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.
- Walker, F. A. *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*. 1899. Henry Holt & Co., New York.
- Weale, B. L. Putnam. *The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia*. 1908. Macmillan Co., New York.
- Weale, B. L. Putnam. *The Conflict of Color*. 1910. Macmillan Co., New York.

For articles dealing with these subjects, attention is called to the *Journal of Race Development*, published by Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, and edited by George H. Blakeslee and G. Stanley Hall.

MAY 26 1917

